PERSPECTIVES ON MALE WITCHES IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

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ABSTRACT

Historians agree that those accused of witchcraft during the early modern period were predominantly women. Yet not all of those brought before the assize courts in England were female, approximately twenty-five percent were men, however they have generally been dismissed as by-products of the witch hunts, accused only through relationships with the accused women or else as part of the mass hysteria created by witch panics where traditional stereotypes often broke down. This work seeks to challenge these assumptions and ask how men found themselves to be accused of witchcraft when there was such a strong association with magic and women in the learned demonology of the period. Were they just by products of a campaign directed against women or were they legitimate targets for accusations of witchcraft? Through an examination of the major demonological texts of early modern England, popular witchcraft pamphlets and records from the secular and ecclesiastical courts of England this work argues that male witches could be independent, legitimate targets of witchcraft accusations and that the learned demonologists and theologians of early modern England possessed no conceptual barrier to the idea of a male witch. It is not the aim of this thesis to challenge the place of women within witchcraft historiography but to suggest that the theory needs to integrate the idea of male witches and examine how they fit within the wider context of witchcraft beliefs during the early modern period in an effort to advance further our understanding of early modern English mentalities about witches and witchcraft.

In memory of my Father. I did it papi!

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASSI	Assizes
Brit. Lib.	British Library
CUL	Cambridge University Library
ERO	Essex Record Office
Ewen I	C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Witch hunting and Witch Trials* (1929)
Ewen II	C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Witchcraft and Demonism* (1933)
Holinshed, *Chronicles*	Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland,* (1587)
Hopkins, *Discovery*	Matthew Hopkins, *The Discovery of Witches* (1647)
K.B.	King's Bench Court
Levack, *Witch-Hunt*	Brian Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe,* (4th Edition, 2016)
MacFarlane, *Witchcraft*	Alan MacFarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study,* (2nd Edition, 1999)
NRO	Norwich Record Office
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
Perkins, *Discourse*	William Perkins, *A Discourse on the Damned Art of Witchcraft,* (1612)
Q/SR	Quarter Session Rolls
SRO	Somerset Record Office
Stearne, *Confirmation*	John Stearne, *A Confirmation and Discovery of Witchcraft,* (1648)
Thomas, *Decline*	Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic,* (1971)
York Depositions	Raine, J., *Depositions from the Castle of York*, (London, 1861)

INTRODUCTION

In 1587 a witch was brought before the Summer Assize sessions held at Chelmsford accused of bewitching a man to death a few months earlier. This witch was not unknown to courts having appeared four times previously on six charges of witchcraft and two charges of grand larceny. Having previously escaped punishment, this person's luck finally turned, leading to a verdict of guilty and summary execution, which was the common punishment for those found guilty of witchcraft. To many this story will seem familiar; the poor witch targeted and ostracized by her neighbours whose hostility and accusations cost her her life. Yet the story of our witch is different in one significant way. Our witch was not a woman; our witch was a man by the name of John Samond. John's criminal career seems to have begun in 1560 when he was brought before the court accused of bewitching to death John Graunt and Bridget Peacock, of which he was to be judged not guilty.[1] He would appear again in 1570, this time on two charges of grand larceny: on this occasion, he was found guilty but given the benefit of clergy.[2] Two years later in 1572, he was hauled before the court again, once more accused of two counts of witchcraft. Once again he escaped punishment and seemed to disappear off the radar until the 1587 Essex Lent Sessions held on 13 March. This time he was again charged with two counts of witchcraft and once again escaped with a not guilty verdict. However, it was to be only a short reprieve for John. On 24 July 1587, just 4 months after escaping punishment for the fourth time, John Samond made what would be his final appearance before the court. Charged with the death of Henry Hone by witchcraft and the destruction of a cow belonging to one Francis Symon by the same means, Samond was pronounced guilty and sentenced to be hanged.[3]

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[1] C. Lestrange Ewen, *Witch Hunting and Witch Trials: The Indictments for Witchcraft from the Records of 1373 Assizes held for the Home Circuit A.D. 1559-1736,* (London, 1929), f.1; hereafter *Ewen I.*
[2] J.S. Cockburn, *Calendar of Assize Records; Essex Indictments: Elizabeth I,* (London, 1978), n.423.
[3] Ewen I, ff.55, 56, 241, 247, 250, 253.

The story of John Samond is one that I stumbled upon during research for a paper during my MA degree. Having only ever seen studies of the early modern witch trials focus on the female victims, the presence of this man intrigued me and I sought out further information on male witches. To my dismay, the subject of male witches in early modern England had been badly neglected compared with the vast scholarship dedicated to female witches and the witch-trials in general. This dearth of research might be understandable if John Samond had been a lone man accused amongst women but he was not. Approximately twenty to twenty-five percent of all those accused of witchcraft were men, and in England, John had a considerable number of male witches to keep him company.[4] Yet these men have been all but ignored by historians who, when they have deigned to mention them, have generally dismissed them as unimportant by-products of accusations against women. The question as to why the subject of male witches has been so neglected is difficult to answer. The scholarly focus on early modern witchcraft has been led by feminist historians who began in the 70s to dissect the social/economic and political reasons why women were seemingly the most targeted group during the witch-trials. Such research was part of a larger push towards reintegrating women back into history and exploring female experiences and roles of women and has been particularly fruitful in aiding our understanding of the lives of women during the 16th and 17th centuries. The fact that such a large majority, between seventy-five to eighty percent of victims, were female has led to the overwhelming focus by witchcraft historians on understanding why this group were targeted so specifically. However, this has led to the neglect of the other victims of the witch-hunt who made up the remaining twenty to twenty-five percent of the accused. Further to this is the generalised beliefs, still prevalent today, that witchcraft is inherently feminine in its nature and the lack of

[4] Alison Rowlands, 'Not the 'Usual Suspects'? Male Witches, Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe', in Alison Rowlands (ed.) *Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe,* (Hampshire, 2009), p.2.

association with masculinity and men. If for example, we consider the rise in self-professed witches today we see that the overwhelming majority are female.[5] Beyond this, popular media has often placed witchcraft firmly into the hands of women, with a few exceptions, such as the TV series Charmed. Thus, it seems that the association of witchcraft with women both historically and presently has led to a general focus on witchcraft as feminine in nature and has ultimately perhaps turned historians away from considering the subject of male witches. It seems then, that a study of male witches in early modern England is long overdue, something this research hopes to rectify.

Witchcraft is a subject that instantly captures the attention and imagination of many people, as evidenced by the immense popularity of books such as Harry Potter, and this is no different in the academic world. Its particular pervasiveness as a topic during the early modern period has long captured the interest of historians and a plethora of work has been penned on the subject dating as far back as 1707 when German law professor Christian Thomasium wrote an anti-clerical history of the prosecution of witchcraft stating it to be a 'crime invented by monks and inquisitors'.[6] More recently however, the landmark publication of H.R Trevor-Roper's *The European Witch Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* in 1967, is considered to be the inaugural work of recent scholarship on the subject. Trevor Roper's study was the first to consider that witchcraft beliefs and the resultant witch-hunts were complex and had their own rationality.[7] Prior to this, much of the research undertaken on early modern witchcraft beliefs and trials dismissed them as a simple continuation of

[5] For a discussion regarding gender and modern witchcraft see: Diane Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations,* (London, 1996), pp.31-58; Laurel Zwissler, 'In Memorium Maleficarum: Feminist and Pagan Mobilizations of the Burning Times' in L. Kournine and M. Ostling (eds.), *Emotions in the History of Witchcraft*, (London, 2016), pp. 249-268.
[6] Malcolm Gaskill, 'The Pursuit of Reality: Recent Research into the History of Witchcraft', *The Historical Journal*, 51 (2008), 1069.
[7] Thomas A. Fudge, 'Traditions and Trajectories in the Historiography of European Witch Hunting', *History Compass*, 4 (2006), 495.

medieval delusions and superstitions.[8] Others such as Montague Summers and Margaret Murray insisted that witches and witchcraft actually existed in the form of diabolical worship intended to subvert Christianity or as a pagan cult. In either case, until the late 1960's early modern witchcraft was not considered to be particularly complex or problematic to historians of the period.[9]

It was the work of Brian P. Levack however, that set the bar for studies of early modern witchcraft with his comprehensive book *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe,* published in 1987, in which he takes a 'multi-causal approach' to examine the possible causes of the witch-hunts as well as the 'chronological and geographic diversity of the witchcraft hunts'. Such is its endurance as a key historiographical text for students of the early modern witch hunts, that it entered its fourth edition in 2016.[10] Following Levack was a concise yet comprehensive study entitled *Witchcraft and Magic in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe* which was published in 2001 by Geoffrey Scarre and John Callow.[11] More recently the appearance of the six-volume series *The Athlone History of Witchcraft and Magic in Europe* under the general editorship of Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark published between 1998 and 2002 signalled the start of a more integrative approach. These six volumes cover the subject of witchcraft from antiquity through to the present and sought to expand the chronological perspective of witchcraft practices by 'stepping outside of the immediate phases of intense persecutions' in order to draw broader historical comparisons on the 'diversity of the legal and social dynamics of European witchcraft practices' so as to provide a fuller understanding

[8] Jonathan Barry, 'Introduction: Keith Thomas and the Problem of Witchcraft' in Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester and Gareth Roberts (eds.), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief,* (Cambridge, 1996), p.2.
[9] Fudge, 'Traditions and Trajectories', 494; Barry, 'Keith Thomas and the Problem of Witchcraft', p.3.
[10] Jacqueline Van Gent, 'Current Trends in Historical Witchcraft Studies', *Journal of Religious History,* 35 (2011), 608-609; Owen Davies and Jonathan Barry, 'Introduction', in Barry, J., Davies O., (eds.) *Palgrave Advances in Witchcraft Historiography,* (Hampshire, 2007), p.2.
[11] Geoffrey Scarre and John Callow, *Witchcraft and Magic in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe,* (London, 2nd Edition, 2001).

of the witch-hunts and the beliefs surrounding them.[12] Wolfgang Behringer with his study entitled *Witches and Witch-Hunts: A Global History*, published in 2004, further established the integrative approach adopted by Ankarloo and Clark. Behringer widened his focus in time and location, as he attempted to understand the legal and theological origins of the witch-hunts that occurred during the early modern period. Interestingly his work takes a somewhat different direction as he focuses on the effect of climate change as a possible cause of the hunts;[13] a theory he previously discussed in his 1995 article entitled 'Weather, Hunger and Fear: Origins of the European Witch-Hunts in Climate, Society and Mentality' and that was later examined further in an article by Christian Pfister in 2007.[14] More recently, Julian Goodare has published a comprehensive and up-to-date study on European witchcraft entitled *The European Witch-Hunt.*[15] However, none of these studies consider male witches beyond recognizing that they existed. Levack, for example, repeats the suggestion that men were likely to be accused during mass panics where the naming of accomplices quickly spiralled out of control as well as theorizing that men were often accused when witchcraft trials were closely linked with heresy such as was the case with the Spanish and Roman Inquisitions.[16] Goodare concludes much the same.[17] In volume three of the Athlone History series, which deals with early modern witch-trials, male witches are mentioned only briefly in the case of French shepherds and Finland's anomalous preponderance of male witches;

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12 Van Gent, 'Current Trends', 602.
13 Wolfgang Behringer, *Witches and Witch-Hunts: A Global History,* (Cambridge 2004).
14 Wolfgang Behringer, 'Weather, Hunger and Fear: Origins of the European Witch-Hunts in Climate, Society and Mentality', *German History,* 13 (1995); Christian Pfister, 'Climatic Extremes, Recurrent Crises and Witch Hunts: Strategies of European Societies in Coping with Exogenous Shocks in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', *The Medieval History Journal,* 10 (2007), 33-73.
15 Julian Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt,* (Oxford, 2016)
16 Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe,* (Harlow, 4th Edition, 2016), pp.131-34.
17 Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt,* pp.291-2.

beyond this, they were not mentioned and no attempt was made to examine why men were accused.[18]

Beyond these works, others have diverged into particular approaches, with pleasing results. Robin Briggs for example analyses the social context of witch trials and beliefs in early modern Europe.[19] Both Lyndal Roper and Diane Purkiss use psychoanalysis as a tool for understanding the motivations behind the witch trials and the beliefs that fuelled them.[20] Others, particularly Marion Gibson and Stuart Clark, have sought to understand the linguistic and narrative structures behind witchcraft writings. Clark's work, *Thinking with Demons,* published in 1997 holds great importance within recent witchcraft historiography due to his attempt to examine the interplay between 'the structures in which demonology and the reported behaviour of witches were expressed, and the habits and modes of classification by which the worlds of God, man, and Satan were quantified'.[21] Similarly, Marion Gibson's *Reading Witchcraft* views witchcraft trials and pamphlets as 'constructed narratives' and focuses on developing a method of textual analysis for these witchcraft texts that will allow the historian, or student, to deconstruct primary sources more thoroughly in order to understand these narratives.[22]

These new approaches have added greatly to our understanding of the early modern witch-hunts. However, none have been so influential, or controversial, as the work of feminist historians on the gender aspects of witch trials and beliefs. For much of the last

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[18] Bengt Ankarloo, Stuart Clark, and William Monter, (eds.) *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Volume 4. The Period of the Witch Trials,* (London, 2002), pp.42-3, 90-91.
[19] Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft,* (New York, 1996).
[20] Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe,* (London, 1994); Diane Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations,* (London, 1996).
[21] P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, 'Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe by Stuart Clark Review', *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* 29 (1998), 237.
[22] Marion Gibson, *Reading Witchcraft: Stories of Early English Witches,* (New York, 1999); Van Gent, 'Current Trends', 604-604.

thirty years the historical analysis of the witch trials has been dominated by the intricate and complex question of why so many of those accused of being witches in early modern Europe, approximately seventy-five percent to eighty percent, were women.[23] This is of course as it should be; women have often been excluded from the narrative framework of history, not just during this period, but also from history in general. Thus, feminist historians have, over the last few decades, sought to reintegrate the female back into these historical narratives and have in the process added immensely to our understanding of the past, for one cannot hope to have a complete picture if half the pieces are missing. For the first time, these historians looked at why the majority of those accused were women, a fact commented upon before but never investigated. This gendering of history opened up a new historiographical tradition and historians were quick to link the past with the present. However, prior to Christina Larner's highly influential work in 1981, popular feminist researchers of witchcraft provided dialogues that were less than satisfactory. In 1974, feminist polemists, Barbara Ehrenreich and Deidre English published *Witches, Midwives and Nurses: A History of Women Healers*, in which they argued that the witch-craze of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was 'a ruling-class campaign of terror directed against the female peasant population'.[24] Furthermore, they proposed that the execution of female witches was an attempt by a newly established male medical profession to remove female healers from the profession and to monopolise it for themselves. Thus, they suggested that midwives were a particular target for witchcraft accusations.[25] At the heart of this assertion is the *Malleus Maleficarum*, which has been used by a number of historians as irrefutable proof of the virulent misogyny that fuelled the witch-hunts against women. This theory of the midwife-witch has been thoroughly proven universally false by subsequent research, in particular that

[23] Rowlands, 'Not the 'Usual Suspects'?', p.1.
[24] Barbara Ehrenreich and Deidre English, *Witches, Midwives and Nurses: A History of Women Healers,* (London, 1974), p.5.
[25] Ehrenreich and English, *Witches, Midwives and Nurses,* p.4.

of David Harley, who undertook a detailed study of various witchcraft trials and the number of midwives accused. His findings show that the number was not significant and there is no evidence that such women were systematically targeted as witches.[26] Despite Harley's rebuttal however, some still subscribe to this theory of the midwife-witch despite its dubious standing. Four years later, for example, in 1978, philosopher Mary Daly published *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*, in which she agreed with Ehrenreich and English by stating that the witch trials were the result of a 'sado-ritual syndrome' that was closely intertwined with the 'phallocentric obsessions of purity'.[27] The views of such radical feminist commentators, whilst directing attention toward the gender issues surrounding the preponderance of women amongst the accused, have been largely discredited, even amongst feminist historians themselves, primarily for their lack of independent archival research, an over-reliance on the *Malleus Maleficarum* and tendency to vastly over-estimate the number of victims.[28] Ehrenreich, English and Daly allude to nine million victims, whilst others such as Anne Barstow suggests a slightly more conservative figure of 200,000 accused and 100,000 executed.[29] Nevertheless, her estimate is vastly higher than the generally accepted figure of 40,000 to 60,000.[30]

One of the most important works in this area was produced by Christina Larner in 1984, in which she posed a question that has been occupying historians of gender for three decades since.[31] Larner asked the question 'was witch hunting woman hunting?' and subsequently, many historians have endeavoured to provide an answer. Larner herself

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[26] David Harley, 'Historians as Demonologists: The Myth of the Midwife-witch', *The Society for the Social History of Medicine,* 3 (1990), 1-26; Anne Llewellyn Barstow, *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch-Hunts,* (New York, 1994), p.19.
[27] Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*, (Boston 1978), p.187.
[28] Purkiss, *The Witch in History,* pp.8-11.
[29] Ehrenreich and English, *Witches, Midwives and Nurses,* pp.5-6; Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology*, p.208; Barstow, *Witchcraze,* pp.22-23.
[30] Fudge, 'Traditions and Trajectories', p.504.
[31] Christina Larner, *Witchcraft and Religion: The Politics of Popular Belief* (Oxford, 1984), pp.79-91.

attempted to answer the question and concluded after some time that witch-hunting was *not* woman-hunting.[32] Willem de Blécourt answered the question most succinctly when he argued that the idea of woman hunting is an ahistorical concept as no society ever actively hunted women simply for being women.[33] Furthermore, the fact that approximately twenty-five percent of those accused and executed were men, and in some regions such as Finland, Iceland and Normandy men made up to ninety percent of victims, seems to provide a firm 'no' in response to this question.[34] However, despite this research, the idea of the witch hunts as a systematic campaign against women still had credence with some historians. Anne Barstow for example, writing in 1994, dedicated an entire book to the discussion of women as witches, in which she likened the witch-craze to the holocaust and described the witch-hunts as an 'organized mass murder of women'.[35] Barstow's theory has however been widely discredited and criticised by historians across the board and as such carries little influence among academic circles due to her lack of archival research and over simplistic assertion that patriarchy and misogyny were the underpinning reason for the witchcraft accusations and trials.[36] Not all feminist historians however rely on such radical theories, the works of Diane Purkiss and Lyndal Roper, amongst others, for example are representative of better, more nuanced, scholarship within the feminist movement.[37]

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[32] Larner, *Witchcraft and Religion,* p.65.
[33] Willem de Blécourt, 'The Making of the Female Witch: Reflections on Witchcraft and Gender in the Early Modern Period', *Gender & History* 12 (2000), 290.
[34] A. Heikkinen and T. Kervinen, 'Finland: The Male Domination', in B. Ankarloo and G. Henningsen (eds.), *Early Modern European Witchcraft,* (Oxford, 1993); pp.321-322; K. Hastrup, 'Iceland: Sorcerers and Paganism', in B. Ankarloo and G. Henningsen (eds.), *Early Modern European Witchcraft,* (Oxford, 1993), pp.386-387; William Monter, 'Toads and Eucharists: The Male Witches of Normandy, 1564-1660', *French Historical Studies,* 20 (1997), 564.
[35] Barstow, *Witchcraze,* pp.4, 21; Anne Llewellyn Barstow, 'On Studying Witchcraft as Women's History: A Historiography of the European Witch Persecutions', *Journal of Feminist Studies,* 4 (1988), 7.
[36] Blécourt, 'The Making of the Female Witch', 291; Fudge, 'Traditions and Trajectories', 504-505.
[37] Fudge, 'Traditions and Trajectories', 505; Purkiss, *The Witch in History*; Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil.* For a full discussion of the historiography of gender and the witch-hunts see: Elsepth Whitney, 'The Witch 'She'/the Historian 'He'', *Journal of Women's History,* 7 (1995), 77-101

Despite its problems, feminist theory has provided us with a new point of access for understanding and advancing our theories of witchcraft historiography. In spite of decrying the lack of research into the gender issues of the witch-hunts, feminist historians fall into the same trap. Along with the majority of researchers and scholars of witchcraft they have ignored one glaring question. Why were twenty-five percent of those accused men? Many have alluded to their presence but remained woefully quiet beyond this point. Others have gone so far as to dismiss them outright as irrelevant by-products of the witch-hunts.[38] This subject has been the centre of some controversy; Blécourt suggests that using areas in which men constituted twenty-five percent or more of those prosecuted as an argument against the exclusion of men from the history of witchcraft is overemphasising the issue and 'serves merely as an excuse to ignore gender issues'.[39] Lara Apps and Andrew Gow, authors of the pioneering work *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe,* rather dryly note that the study of male witches 'may seem threatening to some readers, especially those with a heavy investment in representing witches as essentially female, or in claiming the study of witches as women's history'.[40] Despite this however, the study of male witches is proving to be a fruitful area of research for some historians.

Apps and Gow's *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe* appeared in 2003 and is an attempt to provide a unifying theory of male witches during the early modern period.[41] Their book aims to explain why men were accused and to place them firmly in the wider discussion about witchcraft beliefs. Apps and Gow argue that gender meant far more than a 'binary opposition between the sexes and its predictable antagonisms; rather it underpinned expectations about how everyone lived, and thus shaped the contours of social deviance'.[42]

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[38] Barstow, *Witchcraze,* pp.24-25.
[39] Blécourt, 'The Making of the Female Witch', 293.
[40] Lara Apps and Andrew Gow, *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe,* (Manchester, 2003), p.5.
[41] Apps and Gow, *Male Witches,* p.5.
[42] Malcolm Gaskill, '*Male Witches in Early Modern Europe* by Lara Apps and Andrew Gow', *The English Historical Review,* 119 (2004), 1423.

They therefore endeavour to address the place of male witches in the contemporary sense and in the wider historical picture through examination of confessions, demonological theory, and the accusations themselves. Apps and Gow provided a starting point for the study of male witches during the early modern period and since then a number of historians have taken up the challenge of putting men back into witchcraft history. Apps and Gow set out to challenge the dominant theories of male witches that placed them firmly as secondary players in witch trials. Through analysis of primary sources, they show that men were not just accused as relatives of female witches or during mass panics but could, in fact, be accused in their own right, independent of other relationships. Furthermore, they attempt to challenge Stuart Clark's assertion that 'it was literally unthinkable' at a demonological level 'that witches should be male'.[43] By examining demonological texts such as the *Malleus Maleficarum* and undertaking a word count of masculine and feminine references to witches within thirteen texts they refute this theory, concluding that although 'witchcraft theorists may have taken it for granted that witches were mostly female they did not treat witchcraft as sex-specific'.[44] However, despite their efforts, *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe* does have its problems. Firstly, Apps and Gow conclude that the male witches were 'implicitly feminized' which as David McNeil argues is somewhat self-defeating as Apps and Gow assert that witchcraft was a highly varied phenomenon and the most famous male witches were not feared for their 'feminine' weakness but for their power. Thus, the theory of the feminized witch does not provide an adequate explanation for why men were accused of witchcraft.[45] For example, Robin Briggs's research on the witches of Lorraine would seem to disagree with this assertion. Although Briggs's work covered a wider history of the Lorraine trials he did devote a chapter to the presence of men amongst the accused in which he attempted to address why

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[43] Apps and Gow, *Male Witches*, p.99; Clark, *Thinking with Demons,* pp.129-30.
[44] Apps and Gow, *Male Witches,* pp.104, 112.
[45] David O. McNeil [review], 'Lara Apps and Colin Andrew Gow. *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe*', *Renaissance Quarterly,* 28 (2005), 675.

men were accused and how they fitted into the dominant picture of witchcraft in Lorraine during the early modern period. His work on male witches concludes that 'there is little or no sign that the male witches had been anything but masculine in their behaviour': in fact 'a number of cases would suggest that aggressive and difficult men might be at particular risk'.[46]

Another significant publication, by Rolf Schulte, addressed perceptions of male witches across Europe. *Man as Witch* provided the first major statistical study of male witches in Europe.[47] Schulte's work considers the varying aspects attributed to male witches, such as lycanthropy, and the contemporary view of male witchcraft using demonological treatises published at the time.[48] Schulte also attempts to establish the legal, social, religious, economic and procedural factors that contributed to the accusations of witchcraft against men through his comparative analysis of three regions; the Holy Roman Empire, Franche-Comté and Carinthia, using data from eighty-two studies of witches accused between 1530 and 1730.[49] Although his work focuses primarily on the continent it nonetheless provides a fascinating study of the witchcraft beliefs surrounding men during this period.

During the same year, a series of collected essays edited by Alison Rowlands, entitled *Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe*, brought together the works of Malcolm Gaskill, Robin Briggs, Rolf Schulte and Willem De Blécourt amongst others to provide a discourse on the varying gender aspects of male witches. The book attempts to answer questions such as 'were ideas about the practice of magic and witchcraft imagined along gendered lines?' and 'were some men more susceptible to witchcraft accusations than others?'[50] Neither of these questions have easy answers. Imagined ideas about witches and

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[46] Robin Briggs, *The Witches of Lorraine,* (Oxford, 2007), p.365.
[47] E. J. Kent [review], 'Rolf Schulte, Man as Witch: Male Witches in Central Europe (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)'; Rowlands (ed.), Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)', *Gender & History,* 23 (2011), 453.
[48] Rolf Schulte, *Man as Witch: Male Witches in Central Europe,* (Basingstoke, 2009).
[49] Helmut Puff [review], 'Man as Witch: Male Witches in Central Europe. By Rolf Schulte', *German History* 29 (2011), pp.132-134.
[50] Rowlands, 'Not 'the Usual Suspects'?', p.3.

their capabilities varied widely from place to place and historians are far from unified in their conclusions. Willem de Blécourt for example concludes that, by and large, ideas of magic and witchcraft were ascribed to gender. Male witches for example were stereotypically 'profit-making' men who were the 'epitome of individual gain and achievement in a surrounding that valued the communal', whilst women were 'more strongly associated with the working of harmful magic'.[51] Malcolm Gaskill asserts that, although 'folkloric stereotypes' of witches existed, 'specific circumstances, relationships, and above all, the fear of maleficium, took precedence over an unqualified appreciation of the sex of the suspect in the mind of the accuser'.[52] Furthermore, the beliefs of lay people and those of theologians and demonologists were far from integrated. Whilst they of course shared common strands of beliefs, 'the distinctiveness of gendered witch-stereotypes at the village level could diminish over time as a result of more gender-neutral ideas about witches'.[53] The question of the status of those accused also has no straightforward answer. It varied wildly from region to region. In Normandy for example there was a 'preponderance of herdsmen and clerics' amongst the accused, whilst in Carinthia male vagrants featured significantly in the witch trials.[54] Yet the Luxembourg trials saw a more diverse range of men accused including those of high social status such as local court assessors, village officials and clerics.[55] Of particular relevance to my research is Gaskill's chapter 'Masculinity and Witchcraft in Seventeenth-Century England', in which he discusses how ideas of masculinity in England tied in with the witchcraft accusations levelled against men. Gaskill provides a number of examples of men accused of witchcraft in England during this period and analyses why they were accused and

51 Rowlands, 'Not 'the Usual Supsects'?', p.8.
52 Rowlands, 'Not 'the Usual Suspects'?', pp.9-10.
53 Rowlands, 'Not 'the Usual Suspects'?', p.10.
54 Rowlands, 'Not 'the Usual Suspects'?', p.16.
55 Rita Voltmer, 'Witch-Finders, Witch-Hunters or Kings of the Sabbath? The Prominent Role of Men in the Mass Persecutions of the Rhine-Meuse Area (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries)', in Rowlands, *Witchcraft and Masculinities,* p.79.

attempts to extrapolate a wider-reaching theory of male witchcraft cases.[56] Gaskill concludes his chapter by stating that men accused of witchcraft were accused primarily because 'they were witches' who had 'given themselves up to the devil' and that their gender was relevant 'less because they aped female values' as had been suggested by Apps and Gow but rather because 'they failed to measure up to male ones'.[57]

There are of course a number of general studies focusing on English witchcraft. Alan MacFarlane's *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* published in 1970 was quickly followed by Keith Thomas' *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Belief in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* in 1971.[58] Ronald Holmes's *Witchcraft in British History* followed in 1974 and provided a chronological look at English witchcraft since the first century B.C.[59] More recently in 1996 J.A. Sharpe published *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England,* in which he provides an 'interpretative guide to the history of witchcraft in England'.[60] There have also been numerous works detailing specific trials from England such as those of the Lancashire witches, which overlap into the area of my interests due to the presence of men amongst those accused.[61] However, by and large the majority of works on English witchcraft beliefs do not discuss male witches beyond mentioning that they existed. An exception to this is Malcolm Gaskill who has examined at length the issues surrounding male witches in England in his article 'The Devil in the Shape of a Man: Witchcraft, Conflict and Belief in Jacobean England' in which he analysed the case of William Godfrey who was accused by his neighbours of maleficent witchcraft. His findings about the trial led him to

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[56] Malcolm Gaskill, 'Masculinity and Witchcraft in Seventeenth Century England', in Rowlands, *Witchcraft and Masculinities*, pp.171-190.
[57] Gaskill, 'Masculinity and Witchcraft', p.184.
[58] Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England,* (London, 1970); Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England,* (London, 1971).
[59] Ronald Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History,* (London, 1974).
[60] J. Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England,* (Philadelphia, 1996), p.31.
[61] Jonathan Lumby, *The Lancashire Witch Craze: Jennet Preston and the Lancashire Witches, 1612,* (Lancaster, 1995).

conclude that contemporary definitions of the witch were varied and vague and existed within a legal framework that had no conceptual barrier regarding male witches. Furthermore, he asserts that a man like Godfrey was accused as a witch primarily because his neighbours believed him to be one.[62] Karin Amundsen has also undertaken a study of English male witches, looking in particular at the case of Dr Lambe, observing that far from being incidental victims of the witch-hunts, male witches were often specific players in the trials.[63] More recently, Elizabeth Kent has undertaken a detailed study of the Essex witch trials and attempts, like Gaskill, to extrapolate from the data ideas surrounding the interplay between ideas of masculinity and witchcraft accusations.[64] Diverging from Apps and Gow's assertion that male witches were 'implicitly feminized' she concludes, like Malcolm Gaskill, that male witches were 'masculine others, whose poor practice of patriarchy cut across paradigmatic idealizations of masculine virtue'. Often the men accused were 'unpredictable, did not observe communal consensus about the rules of exchange, mutual obligation, duty to others, [and] personal and public mastery' as well as being 'overtly self-interested' with 'assertive personalities' which caused them to disrupt and contravene local masculine cultures'.[65] Kent has since expanded her research into male witches into a book published in 2013 entitled *Cases of Male Witchcraft in Old and New England, 1592-1695* in which she examines six cases of male witches, three of which occur in England and the remaining three in Massachusetts.[66] Whilst the work itself provides an interesting insight into the cases of these six men and is a useful tool for historians and students, it has been criticised for its lack of in-

[62] Malcolm Gaskill, 'The Devil in the Shape of a Man: Witchcraft, Conflict and Belief in Jacobean England', *Historical Research,* 71 (1998), 142-171.
[63] Karin Amundsen, 'The Duke's Devil and Doctor Lambe's Darling: A Case Study of the Male witch in Early Modern England', *Psi Sigma Historical Journal,* 2 (2004).
[64] Apps and Gow, *Male Witches,* p.7; E.J. Kent, 'Masculinity and Male Witches in Old and New England, 1593-1680', *History Workshop Journal,* 60 (2005), 69-92.
[65] Kent, 'Masculinity and Male Witches', 85-86.
[66] E.J. Kent, *Cases of Male Witchcraft in Old and New England, 1592-1692,* (Turnhout, 2013).

depth analysis and research as well as a fundamental misunderstanding of Apps and Gow's theory of the feminized male witch on which she bases her primary arguments.[67]

The works discussed above make up almost all of the published work on male witches and only a fraction of those focus specifically on English male witches. This is where my research comes in. Although, as we have seen, there exists a solid foundation of research on early modern male witches in the wider European context, English male witches are sadly lacking a wide-ranging study examining who they were and how they were perceived by their contemporaries. Therefore, I hope to be able to expand upon the work of Malcolm Gaskill, Elizabeth Kent and Karin Amundsen and examine the notion that male witches were prosecuted simply as a side effect of the witch-hunt whose main target was women, and to place these men back within the framework of early modern history in order to expand our understanding of the complexities of early modern witchcraft beliefs. By drawing upon the vast - and as yet little tapped for this purpose - resevoiur of primary source materials such as trial depositions, assize records, pamphlets and demonological and theological texts, I hope to answer such questions as; how were male witches perceived in contemporary English society? Did they differ from female witches and if so, how? Could they be accused in their own right or were they always accused in conjunction with a woman? Were men less likely to be found guilty of witchcraft than their female counterparts? Did theological and demonological writers perceive a gender difference between male and female witchcraft and were these differences reflected in the accusations levelled against individuals? The aim of this research is to present a much needed in-depth study of male witches in early modern England.

[67] Lara Apps [review], 'E.J. Kent, Cases of Male Witchcraft in Old and New England, 1592-1692', *Magic Ritual and Witchcraft,* 10:1 (2015), 97; Andrew Gow [review], 'E. J. Kent. Cases of Male Witchcraft in Old and New England, 1592-1692', *Journal of British Studies,* 53:3 (2014), 768; Malcolm Gaskill [review], 'E. J. Kent, 'Cases of Male Witchcraft in Old and New England, 1592-1692', *Continuity and Change,* 30:1 (2015), 151.

The story of early modern witchcraft and witch trials is told through obscure tales of people who are long dead, their lives and beliefs recorded only in rolls of parchment and fragile books. Perhaps to some it is tempting to dismiss these tales as proof of our barbaric and superstitious past. Yet, these scraps show us that witch beliefs in early modern England, and indeed Europe, were complex and multi-layered. Witches and their accusers inhabited a world in which the lines between the natural and the supernatural had no clear definition. It was thought that man coexisted with demons and spirits; that half animal, half demon creatures roamed the earth and that both good and evil powers existed.[68] Therefore, it was not beyond the scope of imagination for these forces to come together to cause harm (or help) to other men, particularly in the form of witches and witchcraft. Michael Bailey sums it up most succinctly when he writes that 'the natural world was conceived to be a direct manifestation of supernatural order', a fact supported by the numerous theological and demonological texts that were written by early modern contemporaries exploring the world of magic and the supernatural.[69] Those published in England between 1560 and 1690, will make up the basis for part of this body of research. As the overwhelming majority of prior research has focused on explaining why women were primarily targeted and accused of witchcraft, I shall instead be continuing in the footsteps of Lara Apps and Andrew Gow by questioning Stuart Clark's assertion that it was 'literally unthinkable' at a demonological level 'that witches should be male' by asking if these intellectual writers did conceive of male witches and if so how?[70] Did they view them as different to female witches, perhaps in the types of witchcraft they practised and in their relationship with the devil? In addition, I will

[68] A. D. J MacFarlane, 'Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England' in Brian P.Levack (ed.) *Witchcraft in England*, volume 6, (London, 1992), p.17.
[69] Michael D. Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe: A Concise History from Antiquity to the Present,* (Plymouth, 2000), p.3.
[70] Clark, *Thinking with Demons,* p.130.

attempt to trace changes in witch beliefs through the fifteenth and sixteenth century and differences in these beliefs between the authors.

Following this foray into theological and demonological theories this research will also consider the role of men as witches in the form of popular belief by using surviving trial pamphlets and guide books to ascertain how far popular ideas of witchcraft matched those expounded in the learned circles. Further, did these publications treat male and female witches differently, such as in their descriptions of the accused, i.e. their physical attributes or their personalities? For example, female witches were quite often described in derogatory terms such as in a 1612 pamphlet which described one Agnes Browne, an accused witch, as 'ill of nature and [of] wicked disposition, spightfull and malitious'.[71] Finally, no discussion of popular belief would be complete without some discussion of cunning folk. Why do we find a preponderance of men amongst those accused of 'white' or 'good' witchcraft and magic and how were they treated in comparison to their female counterparts? By using both printed literature and ecclesiastical court records it might be possible to examine the role that these cunning folk played in early modern communities and how they were viewed by not only their neighbours but also the intellectuals of the time and the authorities.

Moving on from printed sources, the final part of this research will focus on lay conceptions of witches and witchcraft and will use trial records from the Assizes, Star Chamber and Ecclesiastical Courts gathered from across a number of English counties including Cambridge, London, the Home Counties, Devon, Gloucester, Chesire, Lancashire and Yorkshire, to examine the stories of the men who found themselves accused of witchcraft by their neighbours and communities. The aim of using these records is to discover and analyse what crimes these men were accused of and the kinds of witchcraft they

[71] C. Lestrange Ewen, *Witchcraft and Demonism: A Concise Account Derived From Sworn Depositions and Confessions Obtained in the Courts of England and Wales,* (London, 1933), pp.206-207; Hereafter *Ewen II*.

practised as well as to examine whether there were regional differences in the kinds of witchcraft these men could be conceived of practising. In addition to this, I shall also examine if regional differences affected the likelihood of a guilty verdict and if certain kinds of magic or witchcraft were more likely to be punished. Furthermore, building upon the work of Keith Thomas and Alan Macfarlane who theorized that the social status of female witches was important, I will also consider not only if the likelihood of being accused as a male witch was affected by one's social standing but also if it impacted on the kinds of maleficium of which they were accused. Further, I plan to also examine if the social standing of the accused affected the outcome of the trial: were those of higher status more or less likely to be found guilty than their poorer counterparts? Additionally, I shall use these trial records to call into question the predominant assumption that prosecutions of men as witches were simply by-products of accusations against women by examining first, if they could be accused by themselves and second how frequently this happened, as well as the conviction rates for those accused independently and those accused with a female. Were men accused alongside a female more likely to escape punishment than men accused independently, and what of the accompanying woman? Was she as likely to escape punishment as her male counterpart or was she the focus of the jury's ire? Finally, how do the men in these trials fit with the demonological, theological and popular beliefs examined? Are the kinds of magic they are accused of similar to those that the theologians believed them to be capable of and do they fit the descriptions of what constitutes a witch that was espoused in popular literature? If not, how do they differ?

The aim of this research is not to treat male witches as anomalous - a stance that is prevalent amongst historical studies of witchcraft even in those cases where the author takes notice of these men - but to construct them as a historical subject that is part of the wider narrative of early modern English witch-beliefs. A refusal to look at male witches and place them seriously within the framework of the early modern witch hunts and trials is hindering

our understanding as historians. It is the aim of this work to build upon and go beyond the work of Malcolm Gaskill and Elizabeth Kent and attempt to integrate these male witches, through a systematic study of their place in learned, elite and popular beliefs, into the narrative of the early modern witch hunts and, in the process, hopefully further our understanding of the subject.

CHAPTER ONE: DEMONOLOGY AND THEOLOGY

In early modern England the notion of the male witch was, theologically, not anomalous. Almost every demonological text and witchcraft treatise published in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries discusses the subject of man as witch. Many of them are explicit in outlining the capability of men to succumb to the devil's temptations. Yet historically, we have tended to exclude them from our studies, mentioning them only in passing, as unimportant, or relegating them to by-products of the hunt for female witches.[1] As the introduction shows there have been a few attempts at replacing male witches back into the framework of witchcraft history, notably the works of Lara Apps and Andrew Gow who published *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe* in 2003, Alison Rowlands' collection of essays *Witchcraft and Masculinity in Early Modern Europe* and Rolf Schulte's *Man as Witch: Male Witches in Central Europe* both published in 2009 as well as a number of articles by Malcolm Gaskill, Elizabeth Kent and Karen Amundsen.[2] None of these publications however look in any detail at how early modern writers and thinkers viewed male witches. How did they conceive of the male witch? Was he capable of the same kinds of magic as his female counterpart or were his abilities limited to specific kinds of magic? Did the devil bind male witches to him in the same way as he did his female servants or was the male witch more autonomous? Were male witches regarded as any less devoted to the devil than female witches? From where did they draw their examples of male witches and witchcraft? How did they envision the male witch and represent him visually? These are all questions that the following chapter seeks to consider through

[1] Barstow, *Witchcraze*, pp.24-25; Merry Weisner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe,* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.218-238; Deborah Willis, *Malevolent Nurture: Witch Hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England,* (New York, 1995), p.5; Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.188.
[2] Apps and Gow, *Male Witches*; Rowlands, (ed.), *Witchcraft and Masculinities*; Rolf Schulte, *Man as Witch*; Gaskill, 'The Devil in the Shape of a Man'; Kent, 'Masculinity and Male Witches'; Amundsen, K., 'The Duke's Devil'.

exploring the works of these early modern writers and thinkers who wrote so prolifically on the issue of witches and who have heretofore been all by ignored for their view on male witches. The sources selected for study in this chapter are a selection of thirteen demonological and theological treatises, that were widely distributed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These texts represent almost a century of learned beliefs regarding witchcraft England between 1587 and 1681: the full list of which can be found *Appendix I*. Thus, these thirteen publications provide an ideal access point for tracing just what learned and elite beliefs of witchcraft were and how they changed and evolved over the period.

Inhabitants of sixteenth and seventeenth century England had to be alert to the numerous magical and demonic creatures that, it was thought, endeavoured to turn as many people as possible from the righteous path of God. This belief, that there were good and evil powers that existed independently of man and could, at the behest of God or the devil cause harm to the unfaithful or work miracles for the deserving, was a fundamental part of a society in which religion underpinned every aspect of life.[3] Such acts however, required a person to act as a focal point for the good or evil power to work through. These people were manifested as saints in the positive and witches in the negative.[4] However, the belief in witches and witchcraft is far from an early modern construction. We can trace a coherent dialogue on the intricacies of witchcraft and magic to the late Roman Era. The bible also provides scriptural evidence of the belief in the existence of witches and witchcraft in the ancient world. Perhaps the best-known examples are that of the Witch of Endor told in Samuel 28; Simon Magus laid down in Acts 8:9-21. Painted by later Christian authors as an unrepentant foe of Christ's disciple Peter, Simon Magus became an

[3] Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History*, p.16.
[4] Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History*, p.16.

archetypal example of a magician in league with demons. [5] Other biblical examples include that of Balaam (Numbers 23:27, 24:1) and Daniel 'chief of the magicians' (Daniel 4:1-18). Of course, aside from tales of witches and magicians, the bible also provides direct instruction on the punishments for those who commit the sin of witchcraft. Most famous is the oft repeated line 'thou shalt not suffer a witch to live' from Exodus 22:18, however other such commandments can be found littered throughout the Old Testament. Thus Leviticus 19:26-31 states that 'you shall not interpret omens or tell fortunes' and that 'a man or a woman who is a medium or a necromancer shall surely be put to death', whilst Deuteronomy 18:9-12 states that 'there shall not be found among you […] anyone who practices divination or tells fortunes or interprets omens, or a sorcerer'. But how were witches actually treated in the bible in light of these commands?

There are certainly a number of examples of 'witches' in the bible. Perhaps most famous of course is the Witch of Endor (Samuel 1:28) an old woman who has a 'familiar spirit.' She was consulted by King Saul in order to gain advice against battling the philistines. In the King James bible, the Witch of Endor subsequently used her familiar to summon the spirit of the Prophet Samuel to guide the King. The biblical account of this witch ends here, and we see no evidence of punishment towards this magical practitioner. However, the bible tells how the woman was afraid of the king when approached stating that 'Behold, thou knowest what Saul hath done, how he hath cut of those that have familiar spirits and the wizards out of the land: wherefore then layest thou a snare for my life, to cause me to die?' This reaction suggests that Saul certainly punished or exiled magical practitioners from his lands, which would be in-line with biblical commandments. By the early modern period the Witch of Endor had been demonised heavily by theologians in the centuries preceding and now it was asserted that she had actually

[5] Bailey, *Magic and Superstition,* pp.47-48

summoned a demon rather than the spirit of Samuel. Her possession of a familiar spirit would also certainly have played a part in this conflation of her powers and diabolic involvement. Fundamentally to early modern society, the Witch of Endor represented the model of the witch as a worker of diabolic witchcraft.[6]

This seeming lack of explicit punishment for overt practitioners of magic, or witchcraft, is also repeated somewhat in the tale of Simon Magus, the magician who became the rival of the apostle Peter. It was stated in Acts 2:9-28 that Simon had 'used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria' and upon seeing Peter and John laying hands upon people to invoke in them the Holy Spirit demanded that they give him this power in return for money. In response, Peter rebuked Simon for his actions stating that the power of God could not be bought by money, Simon simply asks Peter to pray for him in response. However, in the Apocryphal 'Acts of Peter', the rivalry between Peter and Simon was elaborated, culminating in a show of skill between the two. Simon declared that he could, through his magic, bring a corpse back to life, demonstrating as such by causing the body to twitch. Peter instead truly revived the corpse. Simon then announced that he would fly to heaven. When he took flight, Peter struck him down through prayer shouting 'O Lord, show your mercy and let him fall down and become crippled but not die; let him be disabled and break his leg in three places,' immediately Simon fell to earth and broke his leg in three places.[7] Following this the converts of Peter cast stones upon him. Here the punishment of Peter for Simon's sorcery ends, though the text goes on to describe how 'Simon, the messenger of the devil, ended his life' during an operation to repair his leg.[8] Thus we again see, that despite the biblical commandments of Exodus, Leviticus and Deuteronomy, Simon was not officially put to death for his use of witchcraft and sorcery.

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[6] Michael D. Bailey, *Historical Dictionary of Witchcraft,* (Oxford, 2003), p.43.
[7] J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation,* (Oxford, 2003), pp.419-21; 422-3.
[8] Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament,* p.423,

Nevertheless, later commentators began to demonise the figure of Simon Magus, just like the Witch of Endor, alleging for example that his feat of flight was due to being born aloft by demons which Peter then dispelled, causing his fall to earth. Further they assert that his attempt at the reanimation of a corpse was nothing more than necromancy. By the early modern period therefore Simon Magus had become the archetype of the demonic magician and necromancer.[9]

The biblical references to witchcraft are interesting. Though the commandments regarding the heinousness of magic and witchcraft and the direction that death should be the punishment for those who chose to use such arts are explicitly told, the magical practitioners whose tales are laid down seemingly escape such fates. Fundamentally however, these witches and sorcerers became the bases for later ideas of witchcraft and magic in medieval and early modern beliefs and underwent a demonic transformation from simple sorcerers and diviners to diabolic agents.

Of course, prior to Christian society, a belief in witchcraft was also present as far back as the Assyrian and Babylonian cultures and throughout the Greek and Roman eras; a particularly excellent synthesis of witch beliefs throughout the ages is that produced by Michael D. Bailey.[10] It is however the theologian Augustine, writing in the fourth-century C.E., who can be credited with outlining a clear view on witchcraft, magic and superstition, that would have a lasting impact on Christian belief systems and would become an integral part of early modern demonological theory that emerged during the witch-trials of the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries.[11]

Demonological theories of witchcraft, magic and witches began to spring up around Europe during the fifteenth-century. Most famous of these was the *Malleus*

[9] Bailey, *Historical Dictionary,* p.143.
[10] Bailey, *Magic and Superstition,* pp.47-48.
[11] Bailey, *Magic and Superstition,* p.9.

Maleficarum published in 1548 by Heinrich Insitoris and Jacobus Sprenger. In England by the late sixteenth-century there were a number of demonological treatises that had been published and more would follow during the seventeenth-century, a number of which will be examined in the following discussion. The difficulty however with analysing contemporary views on witchcraft lies within the language of these texts. Stuart Clark has provided a highly insightful discussion of this problem in his work *Thinking with Demons* published in 1997. Clark asserts that the 'overriding commitment to the realist model of knowledge' which we possess in today's world confounds historical analysis of these treatises.[12] Generally, we see language as a 'straightforward reality of a world outside of itself' and thus 'utterances are judged to be true of false according to how accurately they describe objective things'.[13] However, the reality of the early modern period was considerably different to the one we perceive today. Furthermore, early modern writers and thinkers had a 'wholly different way of talking about the world': thus Clark argues that 'there can be no independent test of their accuracy in terms of correspondence to reality'.[14] Here Clark was building upon the words of historian Keith Wrightson who wrote in 1984 that witchcraft should not be 'dismissed as the fantasy world of a deluded minority' because it was 'fully credible not only to the accused witches themselves, but to the neighbours who denounced them, the magistrates who examined them, and the judges who sentenced them'.[15] Historians must, therefore, attempt to put aside the notions of *our* reality and approach these texts simply as a representation of a real world, for to those who wrote these treatises and to the majority of people in the early modern period, witches and witchcraft were very much a part of their reality. However, one must also be cognizant of the fact that these writers also shaped their reality of witches through their linguistic

[12] Clark, *Thinking with Demons,* p.4.
[13] Clark, *Thinking with Demons,* p.4.
[14] Clark, *Thinking with Demons,* p.7.
[15] Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680,* (Oxford, Revised Edition, 2003), pp.211-212.

construction of it as a 'binary opposite'. In other words, they constructed a belief in witchcraft that was based on what it was not. Thus, witchcraft and witches were significant not because they existed but because they existed in opposition to the ideal Christian life just as Satan existed in opposition to God. Therefore, Clark argues witches and witchcraft were always 'a function of another, not an independent identity'.[16] It is with this in mind that the following work will attempt to approach the demonological texts at the centre of this discussion as a true representation of the reality perceived by their authors during the early modern period.

Despite his status as an authority on the intricacies of the language of witchcraft, Clark is also important here for his almost complete silence on the subject of male witches. As we have seen, in a phrase that has become infamous amongst historians of male witchcraft, Clark asserted that it was 'literally unthinkable' at the demonological level 'that witches should be male'.[17] His reasoning for this follows his assertion outlined above that witches were always a function of another rather than an independent identity. He argues that in early modern society male and female 'were thought of as asymmetrical polar opposites' and were part of system of 'dual classification of gender and a cluster of other dual classifications concerning religion, morality, the social order and individual behaviour' in essence, as the devil was the antithesis to God so it was with the female and the male.[18] Thus in this system contemporary thinkers had no choice but to associate 'the category female with other negative categories' and therefore with witchcraft.[19] Yet as we shall see, at least within English texts, the male witch was far from unthinkable.

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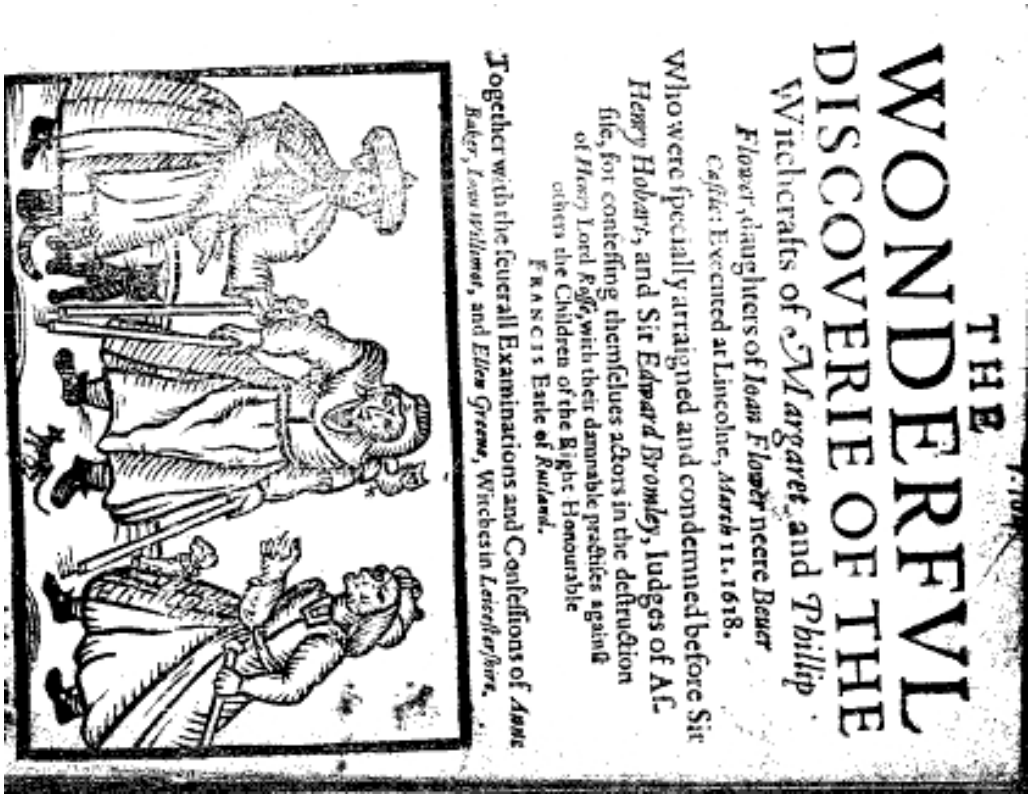
[16] Clark, *Thinking with Demons,* pp.9-10.
[17] Clark, *Thinking with Demons,* p.130.
[18] Clark, *Thinking with Demons,* p.129.
[19] Clark, *Thinking with Demons,* p.4.

THE (NOT SO) CHANGING FACES OF WITCHES AND WIZARDS

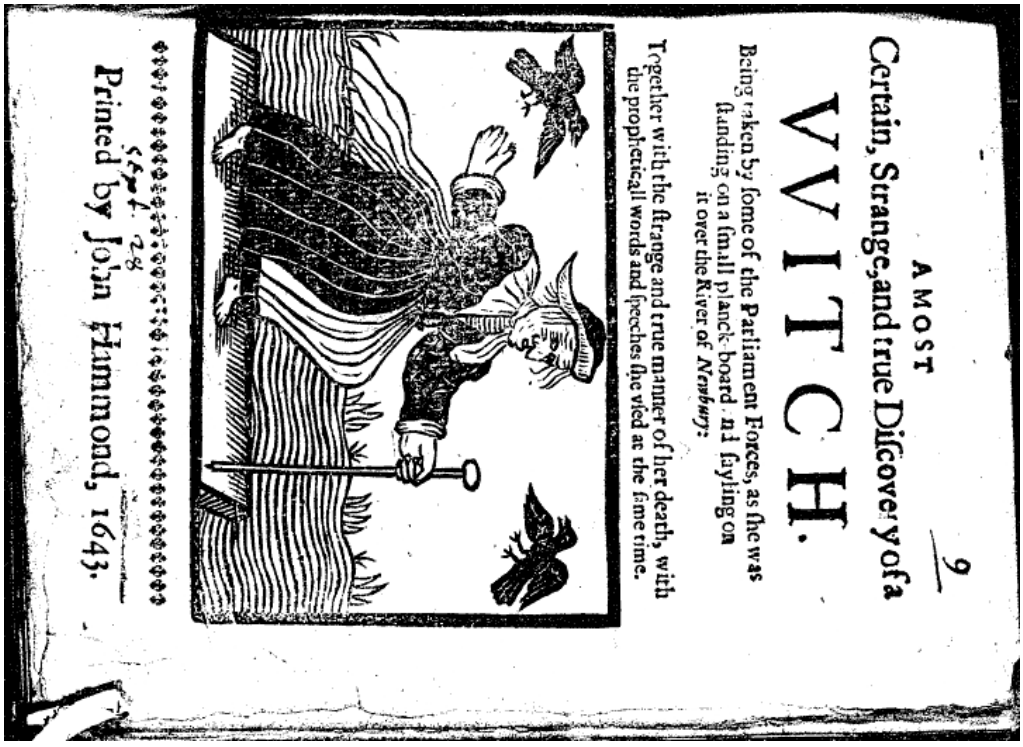
Today, with the help of popular film and literature we have little difficulty in imagining male magic practitioners, or wizards as we prefer to call them. From the Istari in *The Lord of the Rings* to Harry Potter and Albus Dumbledore in the *Harry Potter* series, our imaginations are full of examples of wizards. Yet when one speaks of witchcraft the image that immediately comes to mind for most people is that of the stereotypical old hag: an ugly old woman with a crooked nose and optional hairy wart, bent double with age (and possibly malice) sporting a pointed hat and sitting astride a broomstick accompanied by her faithful black cat. This image has been ingrained in our consciousness more vividly than ever since the invention of film. This wicked witch came to life in the adaptations of L. Frank Baums' *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* and in the many films created by Disney from *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves* in 1937 through to *Hocus Pocus* in 1993. However, this image of the wicked witch is far from a new construction, for writers began to play with this idea of the ugly old woman from at least as early the late fifteenth century.[20] By the late sixteenth century the image has been quite well established. In 1590 Edmund Spencer published the poem *The Faerie Queene* in which the nameless witch is variously referred to as 'the hag', 'the wicked hag' , 'the divilesh hag', or 'the vile hag' and is physically described as 'a loathly, wrinckled hag, ill favoured, old', ' dressing in 'loathly weeds', making 'ghastly faces' and staring 'with fell looke and hollow deadly gaze'.[21] Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, surely the more famous source to exploit the trope, followed shortly after in 1602. Upon meeting the weird sisters for the first time in Act One, Macbeth exclaims 'you should be women, and yet your beards forbid me to interpret that you are so' and later he refers to them as

[20] Heidi Breuer, *Crafting the Witch: Gendering Magic in Medieval and Early Modern England,* (New York, 2009), p.109.
[21] Breuer, *Crafting the Witch,* p.118; George Armstrong, (ed.) *Spencer's Faerie Queene: Book One,* (New York, 1921), I. ii. 370; I. vii. 413.



THE
WONDERFVL
DISCOVERIE OF THE
Witchcrafts of *Margaret* and *Phillip*
Flower, daughters of *Ioan Flower* neere *Beuer*
Caſtle: Executed at Lincolne, *March* 11. 1618.
Who were ſpecially arraigned and condemned before Sir
Henry Hobart, and Sir *Edward Bromley*, Iudges of Aſ-
ſife, for confeſſing themſelues actors in the deſtruction
of *Henry* Lord *Roſſe*, with their damnable practiſes againſt
others the Children of the Right Honourable
FRANCIS Earle of *Rutland*.
Together with the ſeuerall Examinations and Confeſſions of *Anne*
Baker, *Ioane Williamſon*, and *Ellen Greene*, Witches in *Lincolneſhire*.

Fig. 1.1, The Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower – London, 1619



A MOST
Certain, Strange, and true Diſcovery of a
WITCH.
Being taken by ſome of the Parliament Forces, as ſhe was
ſtanding on a ſmall planck-board and ſayling on
it over the River of *Newbury*:
Together with the ſtrange and true manner of her death, with
the prophetical words and ſpeeches ſhe vſed at the ſame time.
Printed by John Hammond, 1643.

Fig.1.2. A Most Certain, Strange, and true Discovery of a witch – London, 1643.

Fig. 1.3 An image of a stereotypical witch published in Walter Scott's Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft in 1830.

'secret, black and midnight hags'.[22] This image of the hag-like witch was not limited to creative literature; in 1587 George Gifford wrote his dialogue *A discourse on the subtill practises of deuilles by witches and sorcerers* in which he describes the witch as 'the pore old hagge'.[23] If we look at the origin of the the word 'hagge' as used by Gifford we can see that it is a middle English word meaning 'an ugly old woman; witch', thus there is little mistaking the intention behind the use of this term.[24] Likewise, as the printing of pamphlets became ever more popular and the technology advanced, images began to be included. These visual representations of, overwhelmingly female, witches seemingly follow along the same lines as the literary descriptions of the period. For example, *Fig. 1.1* and *Fig.1.2.* published in 1619 and 1643 respectively, depict the witch figure in familiar terms, as a rather unflattering looking old woman. By the time of the 1643 image we begin to see the large,

[22] W. Shakespeare, *Macbeth,* act 1, sc.3, li. 47-49l; act 4, sc.1 li. 48.
[23] George Gifford, *A discourse of the subtill practises of deuilles by vvitches and sorcerers By which men are and haue bin greatly deluded: the antiquitie of them: their diuers sorts and names*, (London, 1587) Gv, accessed via *EEBO.*
[24] University of Michigan, *Middle English Dictionary,* [online] University of Michigan. Available from: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED19772 [Accessed 10/08/18]

Fig 1.4. Albrecht Dürer - *A witch riding backwards on a goat* – c.1500[25]

[25] British Museum Collection Database, E,4.126, www.britishmuseum.org, *British Museum* (accessed 2 March 2019).

crooked nose becoming a feature.[26] At the point, it seems that the iconic additions of the pointed hat, broomstick and obligatory black cat had not yet been developed, though as shown in *Fig. 1.3* these had been fully developed by the mid nineteenth century.[27] The depiction of witches as ugly and old in English pamphlets draws upon the images produced by Renaissance artists in the early sixteenth-century. At the end of the fifteenth century there was a fundamental shift in the visual culture of witchcraft starting in particular with the works of Albrecht Dürer and Hans Baldung Grien. In 1500 Dürer created perhaps one of the most well-known images of early modern witchcraft, an engraving entitled *Witch Riding Backwards on a Goat* (fig.1.4). Dürer's work depicts the witch, nude with a body that is old and harsh with wrinkled skin and a sallow face. As Margaret Sullivan asserts, this appearance of the naked witch was a new phenomenon in the iconography of witchcraft.[28] This is something that Charles Zika agrees with, stating that prior to Dürer, and later Baldung, visual imaginings of witchcraft focused around the medieval magician who was usually depicted as clothed in the manner of a scholar or priest, reading from a book of magic whilst being placed protectively in a magic circle.[29] Dürer and Baldung however replaced this male custodian of 'esoteric and learned knowledge' with the harsh bodies of naked female witches surrounded by pots, sticks and cooking utensils whilst riding goats, a well-known symbol of illicit sexuality in medieval and

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[26] Anon, *The wonderful discouerie of the vvitchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower, daughters of Ioan Flower neere Beuer Castle: executed at Lincolne, March 11. 1618,* (London, 1619) accessed via EEBO.; Anon, *A most certain, strange, and true discovery of a vvitch. Being taken by some of the Parliament forces, as she was standing on a small planck-board and sayling on it over the river of Newbury,* (London, 1643) accessed via EEBO.

[27] Sir Walter Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft,* (London, 1830), [online at: https://archive.org/details/demonologywitchc00scotiala]

[28] Margaret A. Sullivan, 'The Witches of Dürer and Hans Baldung Grier', *Renaissance Quartlery,* 59:2 (2000), 353-4.

[29] Charles Zika, 'The Witch and Magician in European Art', in Owen Davies (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated Handbook of Witchcraft and Magic,* (Oxford, 2017), p.140.

Fig 1.5. Hans Baldung Grien – *Witches Preparing for the Sabbath* – 1510. [30]

[30] British Museum Collection Database, 1852,1009.203, www.britishmuseum.org, *British Museum,* (accessed 2 March 2019).

early modern culture, and engaging in bodily activities rather than intellectual and spiritual exercises.[31] Whilst Dürer's witch was the first of this new iconography, it was, according to Zika, Baldung's 1510 woodcut commonly entitled *Witches Preparing for the Sabbath* (fig.1.5) that was the most influential for artists over the following century and beyond.[32] Baldung was clearly influenced by Dürer, not only through having been apprenticed at his workshop.[33] Beyond the obvious figure of the witch riding backwards on a goat located at the top of the scene, Baldung also reproduced Dürer's harshness of the witch's body with three almost grotesque naked women huddled around a cauldron; their old, wrinkled bodies with thin sinewy arms that perhaps hint at their peasant origins and sallow faces sporting twisted expressions drawing the viewer into their illicit and diabolic acts and making a stark contrast to the previous tradition of educated male magicians in relatively safe and esoteric situations.[34] However, Baldung also reinforces the unrestrained and therefore illicit sexuality of these female witches through their positioning with legs spread open and hair flying freely, a common symbol of lust.[35] Thus in the works of Dürer and Baldung we see the beginnings of visual representations not just being that of a female figure but also of the hag like features and illicit, diabolic sexuality.[36]

This new iconography of witchcraft as highly gendered, transgressive and sexualised developed steadily through the reproduction of prints which were often attached to books or other publications as cover pages or illustrations.[37] According to Zika, the

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[31] Charles Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Images and Social Meaning in 16th Century Europe,* (Oxford, 2007), p.12; Zika, 'The Witch and Magician', p.140.
[32] Zika, 'The Witch and Magician', p.138.
[33] Sullivan, 'The Witches of Dürer', 364.
[34] Linda C. Hults, *The Witch as Muse: Art, Gender and Power in Early Modern Europe,* (Philadelphia, 2005), p.19.
[35] Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft,* p.12.
[36] The link between witchcraft and illicit, deviant sexuality will be discussed in further depth in Chapter Two.
[37] Zika, 'The Witch and Magician', p.142.

Fig. 1.6. Baldung Workshop(?) – *Three Female Witches on a Night Ride* – 1516[38]

most important work for disseminating this new iconography to a broader public was a 1516 woodcut (fig.1.6) that was heavily modelled on Baldung's 1510 *Witches Preparing for the Sabbath* and was likely produced by Baldung's workshop.[39] This image was reproduced and reprinted numerous times throughout the sixteenth-century for works often relating to discussions of witchcraft and by the 1540s had become one of the most widely-recognised images of witchcraft among the German book-buying public.[40] The motifs represented in both Baldung's 1510 work and the later 1516 woodcut, of the naked, often grotesque women, surrounding a belching cauldron with body parts, bones and animals littering the ground around them heavily influenced later images of witchcraft after the retirement of

[38] Johann Gieler von Keyersberg, *Die Emeis : dis ist das Buch von der Omeissen, unnd auch Herr der Künnig ich diente gern und sagt von Eigentschafft der Omeissen und gibt Underweisung von den Unholden und Hexen und von Gespenst der Geist unnd von dem wütenden Heer wunderbarlich und nützlich zuwissen, was man davon glauben und halten soll,* (Straßburg, 1517), in *Bayerische StaatsBibliothek Digital,* www.opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de, f.37.
[39] Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft,* p.17, 70.
[40] Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft,* p.71.

Fig. 1.7. Frontispiece *Witches around a Cauldron* from: Abraham Saur – *Ein kurtze treuwe Warnung Anzeige und Underricht* – 1582.[41]

the 1516 woodcut in the 1540s. For example, in 1582 a pamphlet detailing the trial and execution of a woman at Marburg for witchcraft was illustrated using a woodcut that bears a striking resemblance to the iconography created by Baldung at the beginning of the sixteenth century (fig. 1.7.) As we can see, the motifs developed by Baldung and Durer are almost identically reproduced. However, what is interesting for this discussion of the visual representation of the witch as an old and ugly woman is that all three witches depicted in the woodcut ascribe to this trope of the old woman with a sallow face and harsh, wrinkled and sagging body. This suggests that by the late sixteenth-century the popular conception of the witch as firstly female and secondly old and ugly had been firmly ingrained in European imaginations. Further evidence of the development of this new iconography came in the form of the drawings of Jacques de Gheyn II in the early seventeenth century

[41] Abraham Saur, *Ein kurtze, treuwe Warnung, Anzeige und Underricht, ob auch zu dieser unser Zeit unter uns Christen, Hexen, Zäuberer und Unholden vorhanden, und was sie außrichten können etc*, (Frankfurt, 1582) in *Bayerische StaatsBibliothek Digital*, www.opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de.

Fig 1.8. Jacques de Gheyn II – *Three Witches in an Archway* – c.1600-1610.

and as Zika suggests, were informed not only by the works of the previous century but also by the proliferation of demonological and theological texts during the early modern period.[42] For example Gheyn's 1600 drawing of *Three Witches in an Archway* (fig. 1.8) shows three figures who bear similar physical features to the works of early sixteenth-century artists with wrinkled skin, sunken eyes, severe noses and small pointed chins and harsh, sagging bodies giving them a mean and almost grotesque appearance as they dissect the corpse of a man. Thus Gheyn is continuing in the tradition of the witch as both female and hag-like in appearance. Additionally, Gheyn is interesting in his representation of these witches as almost a counter-image to the popular Pietá and *The Lamentation* imagery of the period. The cradling of the corpse's head is reminiscent of scenes in the Pietá in which the Virgin Mary cradles her son after he is brought down from the cross by weeping holy women. Instead of the compassion of the Christian holy woman, Gheyn's witches represent a savage cruelty that Zika argues 'designates them as merciless and godless, implacable enemies of

[42] Charles Zika, 'The Cruelty of Witchcraft: The Drawings of Jacques de Gheyn the Younger' in Laura Kounine and Michael Ostling (eds.), *Emotions in the History of Witchcraft,* (London, 2016), p.45.

the fundamental virtues underpinning a Christian society and order."[43] We see in the work of Gheyn not only the continuation of the tradition of witches as ugly old women but also the idea that these women were the binary opposite to the godly Christian woman, a notion that early modern popular and learned writers were also reiterating and developing in their works. Thus, we see that the images represented in early modern English witchcraft pamphlets drew upon a long-established visual culture of witchcraft that emerged in the early sixteenth-century, creating new iconography of the witch as fundamentally female, old and ugly.

But what about the image of the male witch? Perhaps we exclude the male witch from our imagination because we know him by another name? Yet when one thinks about 'wizards' the image that comes to mind is strikingly different from that of the witch. For many will imagine a wizened old man, more than likely benevolent looking, with a long beard and flowing robes. Why do we have such contrasting views of male witches when compared with that of the ugly old hag that is synonymous with the female witch? Early modern writers had numerous examples from which to draw inspiration, from the tales of sorcerers in the bible to the wizard Merlin from the medieval Arthurian legends. The word 'wizard' itself, denoting a male witch, seems to have developed alongside the increasing concern with witchcraft in Europe. The first example of this usage appears around 1552 by the Bishop of Worcester Hugh Latimer who preached that 'Whan we be in trouble, or sicknes, or lose any thing: we runne hither and thither to wyssardes, or sorcerers, whome we call wyse men.' During the century prior to this however this the term was used as a derogatory term for a philosopher. [44]

[43] Zika, 'The Cruelty of Witchcraft', p.42.
[44] wizard, n. and adj." OED Online, Oxford University Press, December 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/229772. Accessed 28 January 2019.

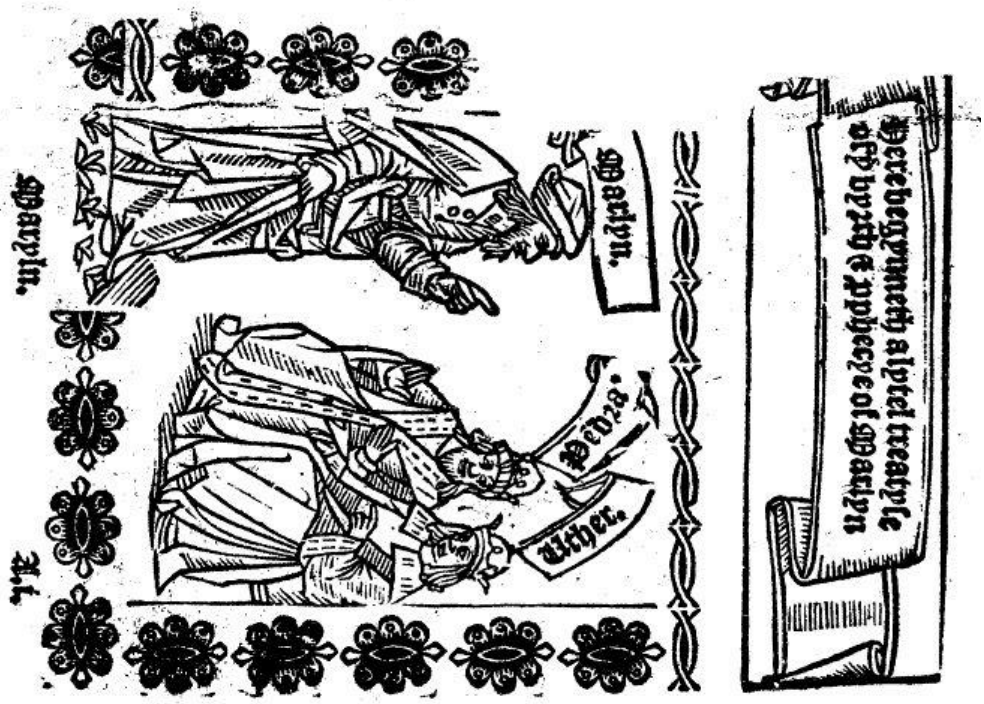

Fig. 1.9. A depiction of Merlin in an anonymous publication from 1510.

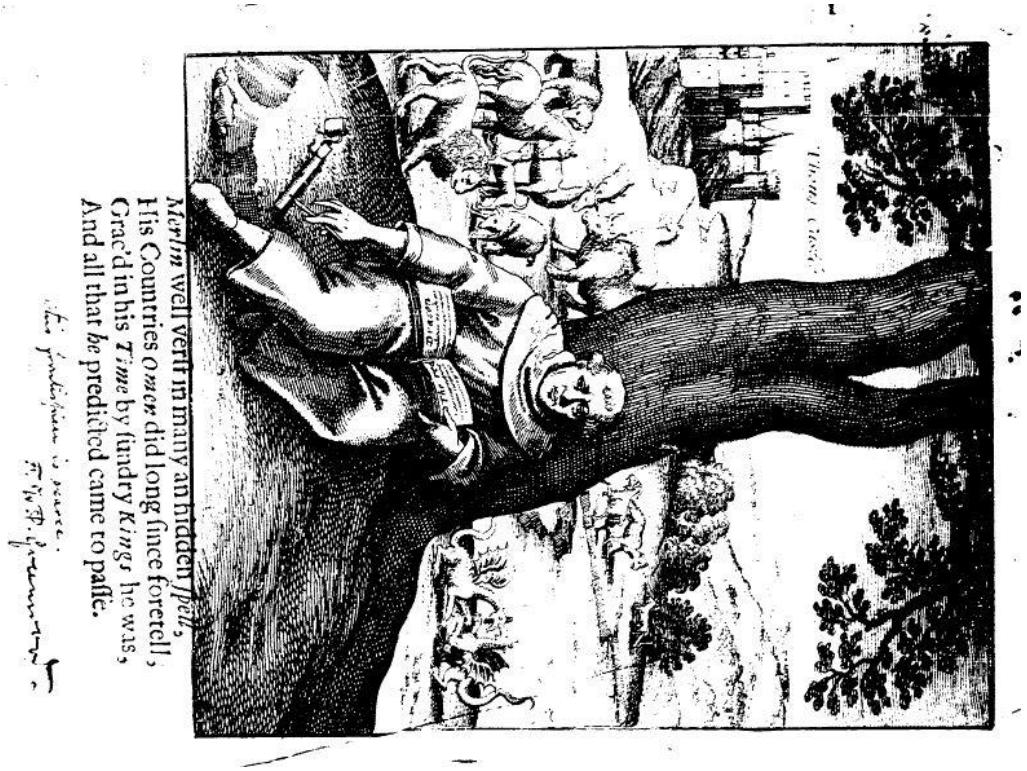

Fig.1.10. Merlin depicted in the frontispiece of Thomas Heywood's *The Life of Merlin* published in 1641.

Despite the examples of male witches that contemporaries could draw upon, the physicality of their appearance seems to be less of a preoccupation than for their female counterparts. If images of female witches were scarce during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then those of male witches were all but non-existent. The only examples to be found in English publications are illustrations of the wizard Merlin published in 1510 and 1641 shown in *Fig 1.9* and *Fig. 1.10.* neither of which conform to the modern-day image of the wizened old man.[45] In the case of the female witch, the transition towards the hag figure can perhaps be linked to the change in the way magic was viewed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As it became increasingly associated with demonic forces, so the image of the witch changed; from the formidable and enticing beauty of Circe, Medea and Morgan Le Fey towards that of the 'pore old hagge', a reflection perhaps on the inner ugliness and bitterness that witches were said to possess. The transition from beautiful, powerful female to this ugly old hag has garnered some fascinating explanations by a few historians who have attempted to trace the changing face of witches and witchcraft during the early modern period.[46] However as this work primarily concerns male witches, we must now return to the task at hand.

At the beginning of the chapter, it was stated that the idea of the male witch was not anomalous to early modern writers and thinkers. Almost every demonological text discusses the issue of man as witch and many are explicit about the capability of men to succumb to the temptation of the devil. Thus, Thomas Cooper, a prominent clergyman and writier, declares that '*men, as well as women, may be subiect to this Trade;* seeing as both are subiect to the State of damnation, so both are liable to Satans snares'.[47] Likewise, the

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[45] Anon, *Here begynneth a lytel treatyse of ye hyrth & p[ro]phecye of Marlyn*, (London 1510) accessed via EEBO; Thomas Heywood, *The life of Merlin, sirnamed Ambrosius his prophesies and predictions interpreted, and their truth made good by our English Annalls,* (London, 1641), accessed via EEBO.
[46] See for example: Purkiss, *The Witch in History,* Breuer, *Crafting the Witch*; For general overviews of the demonization of magic and its effects see: Bailey, *Magic and Superstition*;
[47] Wright, Stephen. 2004 "Cooper [Cowper], Thomas (b. 1569/70, d. in or after 1626), Church of England clergyman and writer on witchcraft." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 19 Mar. 2019.

theologian and clergyman William Perkins writes 'I comprehend both sexes or kindes of persons, men and women, excluding neither from beeing Witches'.[48] Whilst the calvanist theologian, clergyman and witchcraft writer Henry Holland asserted that 'a witch is but a wicked man or woman that worketh with the deuill'.[49] Clergyman Alexander Roberts also writes, in his sole publication, 'neither yet be they all women, though for the most part that sexe be inclinable thereunto: (as shall afterward be shewed, and the causes thereof) but men also on whose behalfe no exception can be laid'.[50] In the mid seventeenth century the little known physician and writer Thomas Ady, though following in the sceptic tradition of Reginald Scot, asserted that 'A witch is a man, or a woman, that practiseth Devillish crafts'.[51] Furthermore, in the texts examined in this work, every author makes mention of 'sorcerers', 'magicians' and 'wisards'; of which more will be said later in the chapter. One might find an explanation for this lack of conceptual barrier by delving deeper into the works of these theologians. Much of what was believed to be possible during this period was based upon an understanding of the world that had at its centre the scriptural teachings of the bible. Every demonological and theological text discussed here relies on

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http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6230; Thomas Cooper, *The mystery of witch-craft Discouering, the truth, nature, occasions, growth and power thereof. Together with the detection and punishment of the same.* (London, 1617) pp.180-181, accessed via EEBO.

[48] William Perkins, *A discourse of the damned art of witchcraft so farre forth as it is reuealed in the Scriptures, and manifest by true experience.* (Cambridge, 1610) p. 168, accessed via EEBO.

[49] Holmes, Clive. 2004 "Holland, Henry (1555/6–1603), writer on witchcraft." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 19 Mar. 2019.
http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13521; Henry Holland, *A treatise against vvitchcraft: or A dialogue wherein the greatest doubts concerning that sinne, are briefly answered a Sathanicall operation in the witchcraft of all times is truly prooued,* (London, 1590) B3, accessed via EEBO.

[50] Elizabeth Carlson, 'Witchcraft is a rife and common sinne in these our daies': The Powers of Witches in English Demonologies, 1580-1620' *Western Illinois Historical Review,* 3 (2011), 25, 29; Alexander Roberts, *A treatise of Witchcraft VVherin sundry propositions are laid downe, plainely discouering the wickednesse of that damnable art, with diuerse other speciall points annexed, not impertinent to the same, such as ought diligently of euery Chrisitan to be considered,* (London, 1616) p.5, accessed via EEBO.

[51] Peter Elmer, *Witchcraft, Witch-Hunting and Politics in Early Modern England,* (Oxford, 2016), pp.164-6; Thomas Ady, *A Candle in the dark shewing the diving cause of the distractions of the whole nation of England and of the Christian world,* (London, 1655) p.13, accessed via EEBO.

scriptural evidence to reinforce its arguments. Thus, when we look at this aspect of their writing we begin to see why the idea of a male witch was entirely plausible. Littered throughout the dialogues are references to the biblical tales such as Balaam, Daniel 'chief of the magicians' and Simon Magus.[52] These biblical figures were considered to be magicians, wise men, diviners, conjurers and charmers and were used by contemporary writers to illustrate points regarding various types of magic. Henry Holland, for example, uses the stories of Balaam and Daniel in his discussions of 'divinours or soothsayers' and 'charmers' and 'sorcerers'.[53] Simon Magus features in the work of Perkins as an illustration to a number of points, primarily to show that anyone who uses witchcraft, even if for good purposes, has made a compact with the devil and has thus sinned against God.[54] In *Select cases of conscience touching vvitches and vvitchcrafts* published in 1655, the clergyman, author and vicar of St Andrew's church in Huntingdon, John Gaule, writes 'but let not the male bee boasting or secure of their Sexes exemption or lesses disposition. For wee read of Pharaohs Magitians, Nebuchadnezzar's Astrologers, Manassehs Wizzards, of Balaam, Simon Magus, Elymas the Sorcerer, &c'.[55] Of further interest to this discussion is the fact that Henry Holland's discourse takes the form of a discussion between Mysodaemon and Theophilius. The use of Theophilius as a narrator and teacher to Mysodaemon is interesting as Theophilius was a Christian saint of the sixth-century monastic order who had been tempted by a Jewish sorcerer into signing a pact with the devil in return for magical powers.[56]

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[52] Bailey, *Magic and Superstition,* p.47.
[53] Holland, *Treatise,* C34.
[54] Perkins, *Discourse,* p.9.
[55] Stuart Clark, 2004 "Gaule [Gall], John (1603/4–1687), Church of England clergyman and author." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 19 Mar. 2019. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10458.; John Gaule, *Select cases of conscience touching vvitches and vvitchcrafts,* (London, 1655), pp.53-54, accessed via EEBO.
[56] Bailey, *Superstition,* p.114.

WITCHCRAFT AND MAGIC: WHICH WITCH IS WHICH?

So far in this work, I have referred to 'magic', 'witchcraft', 'witches' and 'sorcerers' as self-explanatory terms. However, the reality is that their definitions are somewhat more complex than one would first assume. What follows, therefore, is an attempt to discuss the problems historians have in defining these terms and how I shall approach using them for the purpose of this study. The terms magic, witchcraft, witches and sorcerers do have broadly accepted definitions in today's world yet for historians of early modern history the divisions between them are complex and less easily defined. Alan Macfarlane stated in 1970 that how to define witchcraft and magic is 'among the subjects upon which there is most disagreement' and that 'many subsequent arguments have arisen from the divergence of definitions'.[57] Thirty-six years later the difficulties still existed with Michael Bailey writing in 2006 that the 'terminology for and concepts of magic are almost universally vague, mutable, and "occult" in the literal sense of hidden or obscured'.[58] That is not to deny that some inroads have been made in defining both witchcraft and magic. As Heidi Breuer states, 'scholars have identified two major categories of magical practices […] divine (or demonic) and natural (or occult), under which the various other types of magic can be classified'.[59] Likewise, Richard Kieckhefer states that 'broadly speaking, intellectuals in medieval Europe recognized two forms of magic: natural and demonic'.[60] Owen Davies agrees to some extent, but builds upon this binary view, stating that magic was divided into learned (high) magic which had a 'sophisticated theoretical, philosophical and ceremonial structure' and unlearned (low) magic which was 'a rich medley of indigenous beliefs, practices and rituals'.[61] Magic, therefore, might be considered as an umbrella term under

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[57] Macfarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.3.
[58] Michael D. Bailey, 'The Meanings of Magic' in *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft,* 1 (2006), p.23
[59] Breuer, *Crafting the Witch,* p.8.
[60] Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages,* (Cambridge, 1989), p.9.
[61] Owen Davies

which all other kinds of magic fall, including witchcraft and sorcery.[62] However, whilst many historians subscribe to this binary model it must also be noted that it has its problems. The line dividing demonic and natural magic is fine and was often transgressed both by those practicing them and those writers concerned with defining them.[63] The binary model of demonic and natural magic is, however, our best tool and it will be used here to continue our attempt to define witchcraft and sorcery

Witchcraft would, logically, fall into the demonic magic camp and is perhaps one of the easier categories to define although there is still some disagreement, as we shall see. Demonic magic is, by its very nature, according to Davies 'explicitly heretical' and was 'primarily concerned with the attempt to conjure and command devils and demons' and was 'usually motivated by a desire for wealth and power, using demons to find treasure, to murder enemies, prevail over the rich and influential and to have sexual control over women.'[64] This would generally fit our conception of witchcraft. Yet, Davies files demonic magic under the category of learned magic which is confusing as many of those charged with witchcraft during the early modern period were from the lower sections of society and were, generally, distinctly unlearned. Michael Bailey's explanation is possibly a better fit, he concludes that witchcraft was the 'relatively simple forms of common or low magic used to harmful effect' so perhaps not specifically linked to learned magic.[65] Alan Macfarlane, however, straddles both explanations, writing that witchcraft is 'a supernatural activity, believed to be the result of power given by some external force and to result in physical injury to the person of object attacked by it'.[66]

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62 Breuer, *Crafting the Witch,* pp.7-8.
63 Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages,* p.1.
64 Owen Davies, *Popular Magic: Cunning-Folk in English History,* (New York, 2003), p.ix.
65 Michael D. Bailey, *Historical Dictionary of Witchcraft,* (Oxford, 2003), p.144.
66 Macfarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.4.

The practice of sorcery, though it often appears in the courts, is distinct from witchcraft according to Keith Thomas who defines witchcraft as 'an occult power given by the devil requiring no tools or spells' and sorcery as involveding 'the use of images, poisons etc'.[67] In Thomas's view sorcery straddled the line between natural and demonic magic. Natural magic was considered by contemporaries to be a legitimate branch of science and not demonic in origin.[68] Owen Davies provides the most succinct description of natural magic stating that natural magicians manipulated the hidden essences and powers of 'plants, animals, and precious stones' which were 'influenced and activated by other unseen forces' such as 'benign stellar influences and adjuring spirits' who they attracted through the use of 'certain gestures, instruments, words, incantations and talismans'.[69] Sorcery, however, was the implementation of these occult forces for the 'evil of the end'[70] and was often the reason, along with the assertion that these benign beings were actually demonic, that contemporary theologians, demonologists and even lay people attacked natural magic as inherently demonic.[71] James Sharpe, however, makes little distinction between the terms magic, sorcery and, confusingly, magician, linking all of them primarily to the practice of natural magic. He does not go as far as Thomas by defining sorcery as the use of natural magic for evil ends; instead, he simply notes that on occasion 'practitioners of learned and hence legitimate magic' might be attacked by lay people who thought they were 'dabbling in diabolic witchcraft'.[72]

As we have seen, historical conceptions of magic, witchcraft and sorcery are far from easy to define and have created a considerable amount of confusion for historians of the period. However, for the purpose of this work I shall use a combination of Alan

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[67] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic,* p.552
[68] Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.14.
[69] Davies, *Popular Magic,* p.ix.
[70] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic,* p.552.
[71] Sharpe, *Instruments*, p.14; Breuer, *Crafting the Witch*, p.9.
[72] Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.14.

Macfarlane's and Owen Davies definitions of witchcraft; that it was a 'supernatural activity, believed to be the result of power given by some external force and to result in physical injury to the person of object attacked by it' and was motivated by 'by a desire for wealth and power, using demons to find treasure, to murder enemies [and to] prevail over the rich and influential'.[73] I will also make a distinction between witchcraft and sorcery where possible and use the definition provided by Thomas, as outlined on page 39 above.

MERLIN AND THE EARLY MODERN DILEMMA

The bible was not the only source of inspiration for early modern thinkers and theologians; also important were medieval legends such as that of Arthur and his renowned magician Merlin. Yet early modern writers had a somewhat uneasy relationship with the story of Merlin; the adaptability of his prophecies served to add legitimacy to the protestant cause, to the royal house and to many other things. As Anne Lawrence-Mathers has observed, the prophecies of Merlin had enjoyed great notoriety throughout medieval England. The 'Book of Merlin', revealed in the twelfth-century, as his prophecies became known were a popular source of medieval excitement as they told of a future yet to come and allowed people to see how political and dynastic struggles would play out.[74] Writers both elite and popular would recycle and reprint these prophecies repeatedly through the medieval period, adding and changing where they thought prudent and framing them in the context of both current and past events.[75] By the early modern period Merlin's prophecies would have been well known both in elite circles and popular belief and, as Tim Thornton argues, despite the scepticism of early modern writers towards the historiography of Arthurian legend and British history, the idea of Merlin, as a prophet,

[73] Macfarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.4; Davies, *Popular Magic,* p.ix.
[74] Anne Lawrence-Mathers, *The True History of Merlin the Magician,* (London, 2012), pp.71-2.
[75] Lawrence-Mathers, *True History*, pp.90-2.

remained a popular one.[76] This is particularly evidenced in the continued use of Merlinic prophecies throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, in 1618 the Scottish Minister and academic, John Adamson recorded that on James I's return to Glasgow on 22 October 1617 he was heralded as the 'King whose birth was so long foretold by these ancient *Rimors, Beads,* and *Merlines,* the end of al your prophecie.'[77] In 1641 the English playwright, actor and author Thomas Heywood published the *The life of Merlin, sirnamed Ambrosius his prophesies and predictions interpreted, and their truth made good by our English Annalls,* in which he used prophecies attributed to Merlin to discuss the history of the Monarchy in England. Among other things he discusses the ascension of Elizabeth I and James I, legitimizing their reigns through the prophetic foretelling of Merlin.[78]

Likewise, the astrologer William Lilly wrote in his autobiography that the events of the restoration period had been foretold by 'Ambrose Merlin' about '990 years since' in which he designated King James as 'The Lion of Righteousness; and saith, when he died, or was dead, there would reign a noble White King; this was Charles the First. The prophet discovers all his troubles, his flying up and down, his imprisonment, his death; and calls him Aquila.'[79] Additionally Charles II would ' come through the south with the sun, on horse of tree, and upon all waves of the sea, the Chicken of the Eagle, sailing into Britain, and arriving anon to the house of the Eagle, he shall shew fellowship to them beasts.'[80] The fact the Stuart kings did not appear in the initial prophecies outlined in Geoffrey of Monmouths *History of the Kings of Britain,* was, according to Lawrence-Mathers, 'supremely

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[76] Tim Thornton, *Prophecy, Politics and People in Early Modern England,* (Woodbridge, 2006), p.54.
[77] John Adamson, *Ta ton Mouson eisodia: = The Muses welcome to the high and mightie prince Iames by the grace of God King of Great Britaine France and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. At His Majesties happie returne to his olde and natiue kingdome of Scotland, after 14 yeeres absence, in anno 1617,* (Edinburgh, 1616), p.283, accessed via EEBO.
[78] Heywood, *The Life of Merlin,* pp.337-46, 361-376.
[79] William Lilly, *William Lilly's History of His Life and Times, From the Year 1602 to 1681,* (London, 1715), pp.194-5.
[80] William Lilly, *History of His Life and Times,* p.195.

unimportant' to early modern writers who viewed Merlin as separate from this antiquated tome.[81]

Nevertheless, despite Merlin's prophetic popularity, his blatant magical skills and half demonic heritage meant that one had to tread carefully. Firstly, it is important to note that Merlin was never referred to as a witch, until Malory did so in his fifteenth century work Le Morte d'Arthur, yet despite this, his character, popularity and abilities deserve attention as part of this study.[82] The story of Merlin that is familiar to us began with Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regnum Brittaniae*. Merlin was a secondary figure here but he was nevertheless a figure that captured the attention of writers throughout the ages. It was from the thirteenth century onwards that the legend of Merlin became widely known and more developed and it is from here that this discussion will begin. Merlin was said to be the son of a human woman and an incubus, created with the intention of becoming the anti-Christ, though he was saved by the agency of his mother who led a pious life and remained faithful to the church, and immediately baptised him after his birth: thus Merlin is 'rescued for Christ' [83] Medieval accounts of Merlin's abilities published during the thirteenth century such as Robert de Boron's poem *Merlin* (1205) and the 'Vulgate Cycle', or 'Lancelot-Grail' (1210) present him as a powerful magician. In the Vulgate Cycle his secular power is presented as beyond that of royal authority and when he is disobeyed by a baron eager for the Siege Perilous he causes him to be 'melted away, just like a ball of lead ... [so the he] was lost from sight right before everyone' and his recourse to the King when questioned is short and sharp. [84] His magical abilities were also increased in the Vulgate Cycle giving him the ability to raise storms, rivers and fog against Arthur's enemies on the

[81] Lawrence-Mathers, *True History,* p.94.
[82] Sir Thomas Malory, *Le Morte d'Arthur,* (London, 1485) accessed via EEBO.
[83] Stephen Knight, *Merlin: Knowledge and Power Through the Ages,* (New York, 2009), p.50.
[84] Knight, *Merlin: Knowledge and Power*, p.59.

battlefield.[85] Boron also gave him the ability to shape-shift, a skill deemed to be possessed by the devil.[86] The figure of Merlin presented by these authors was one of a man of great power, knowledge and skill; he is beyond the control of kings and more powerful than them too. He serves as an advisor, teacher, prophet and wizard.

During the late medieval and early modern period, however, Merlin became a troublesome figure for writers, he began to be portrayed in a darker light. During the fifteenth century attitudes to magic became considerably more hostile, where certain practices had been tolerated, now magic was increasingly being linked to demonic forces in all its forms. Thus, the figure of Merlin, and likewise his female counterparts Morgan le Fay and Viviene (or Nyneve) began to be readdressed. Previously Merlin's magic was far reaching, not only was he a prophet but, as we have seen, he could shapeshift into various forms both human and non-human, raise storms and rivers against his enemies, cast spells to render himself invisible, and destroy those who disobeyed or wronged him. Yet by the late fifteenth century, Merlin's powers were being reduced and his secular power brought under control and servility to royal authority. This subjugation of Merlin may find an explanation in the theory of the 'great chain of being' that dominated medieval and early modern society.[87] In this hierarchy, the king was the pinnacle, followed by nobles, gentlemen, yeomen, husbandmen, cottagers and finally labourers.[88] The King was God's lieutenant on earth, a position further reinforced after 1533 and the Acts of Supremacy that placed Henry as 'supreme head in earth of the church' and gave rise to the idea of the 'divine right of Kings' that James I vehemently asserted.[89] The king, therefore, was

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[85] Knight, *Merlin: Knowledge and Power*, p.60.
[86] Alexandre Micha, 'Robert de Boron's Merlin', in Peter H. Goodrich, Raymond H. Thompson (eds.) *Merlin: A Casebook*, (New York, 2003), p.289.
[87] For an excellent synthesis of the theory and development of 'The Great Chain of Being' see: Arthur Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: The History of an Idea,* (Cambridge, 1964).
[88] Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England 1485-1714: A Narrative History,* (Chichester, 2nd Edition, 2009), p.24.
[89] Bucholz, Key, *Early Modern England,* p.79.

answerable only to God, the most powerful man in England, and in his original form Merlin broke this 'chain of being' and thus later authors had little choice but to contain and limit his power in line with the natural hierarchy. Historians argue that contemporaries viewed male magical practitioners as 'powerful rather than powerless' and this power could be used to 'subvert the hierarchical distribution of male prerogative as determined by the Great Chain of Being'.[90] It was when they exercised this power and attempted to step outside the confines of the natural order that male magical practitioners could be accused of being witches and it was this that medieval and early modern writers felt they had to tackle when writing about Merlin.

In Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* published in 1485 Merlin's powers are significantly reduced; he remains a prophet and an advisor to Uther and Arthur but the melting of the Baron, the raising of the storm and the river against Arthur's enemies, and his transformation into non-human forms are removed. He is also presented as less unambiguously good, being directly responsible for the transformation of Uther in his deception against Igerne, Arthur's mother, and thus as Heidi Breuer argues is shown as facilitating a rape.[91] Likewise, he is held responsible for the murder of all infants born on May Day in order to destroy Arthur's illegitimate and incestuous child Mordred, something that was previously attributed to Arthur while Merlin was portrayed as a mediator of peace.[92] Malory further degrades Merlin's positive image by emphasising his demonic birth; in one case a knight is warned to beware 'of Merlyn for he knoweth alle thynges by the deuyls crafte'. Elsewhere it is remarked that Nyneve's reason for entombing him in the cavern was because 'she was afeard of him by cause he was a deuyls sone' and because he

[90] Kent, 'Masculinity and Male Witches', 86; Amundsen, 'The Duke's Devil', 45.
[91] Breuer, *Crafting the Witch,* p.100.
[92] Malory, *Le Morte d'Arthur*; Knight, *Merlin: Knowledge and Power,* p.75.

'oftymes … wold haue had her pryuely awey by his subtyle craftes'.[93] Thus Merlin is transformed into a very real threat, and his lecherousness against Nyneve is part of the reason for his downfall. Heidi Brueur argues that Malory's depiction of Merlin 'heightens the moral ambiguity of male magical use, but retains the basic principle: male magic is a positive (though sometimes dangerous) force for the maintenance of social control'.[94]

Thus in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* Merlin is no longer simply a force for good, and whilst not fully linked with the demonic, his image is far more ambiguous than in previous incarnations and the potential for his demonic heritage to surface is never far away. Perhaps the best example of this idea of the male witch as positive though potentially powerful and dangerous, may be seen in the case of the Elizabethan court mage John Dee who enjoyed a great deal of prestige amongst his peers for his skill, yet also fell from grace as a result of his magical abilities. Like Merlin, John Dee was not considered to be a witch by his peers, but rather a magician. During Elizabeth I's reign, Dee established himself as the court astrologer and enjoyed a reputation as a renowned learned magician,[95] despite the fact that during her sister Mary's reign he had found himself arrested in 1555 on accusations of "calculating," "conjuring," and "witchcraft" on the grounds that he had drawn up horoscopes for Mary, her husband Philip of Spain, and Elizabeth' and also had 'endeavoured by enchantments to destroy Queen Mary'.[96] This fear of his abilities would come back to haunt Dee as he continued to push the boundaries of his learning and began to experiment with alchemy and to attempt to raise angels. In 1580 a mob, thinking him to be a witch, attacked his house in Mortlake and destroyed his scientific instruments and equipment.[97] In spite of his prominence and reputation during Elizabeth's reign, Dee died

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93 Knight, *Merlin: Knowledge and Power,* p.75.
94 Breuer, *Crafting the Witch,* p.101.
95 Bailey, *Historical Dictionary,* p.34.
96 Benjamin Woolley, *The Queen's Conjurer: The Science and Magic of Dr. John Dee, Advisor to Queen Elizabeth I,* (New York, 2001), pp.34-35
97 James Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England,* (Oxford, 2001), p.22.

in obscurity and poverty and by the mid seventeenth century his work on angels was considered to be a 'work of darkness'.[98] Yet even though he was considered to have been conversing with devils rather than angels he was not termed a witch but was thought of as 'deluded rather than evil'.[99]

During the late sixteenth century Merlin, like Dee, came under sustained critical fire. Once feted as the prophetic hero of England he now became the subject of derisive attacks as contemporary writers sought to distance themselves from his magical and thus demonic undertones. In 1588 John Harvey wrote a scathing attack on Merlin and prophesies in general, writing that he was:

> Impious, monstrous, and hellish. For what a Gods name can we thinke of his other couenous, and sophisticall deuises, or rather diabolicall practises; wherewith he, or the diuel in him, deluded and beguiled the simpler sort.[100]

In the same year, William Perkins spoke of 'Merlin's drunken prophesies'[101] By 1625 John Cotta was directly linking Merlin with being a 'witch or sorcerer', asking:

> who hath not heard of the name and mention of that famous and renowned British wizard Merlin […] him the sonne of an incubus, or the sonne of a witch, begotten by the Diuell.[102]

Yet, as noted, Merlin's prophecies could also be useful to those in power. As Keith Thomas writes, throughout 'the reformation […] there was occasional recourse to the prophecies of merlin in justification of the Protestant cause' in spite of early Protestants

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98 Woolley, *The Queen's Conjurer,* p.294.
99 Woolley, *The Queen's Conjurer,* p.294.
100 John Harvey, *A discoursiue probleme concerning prophesies how far they are to be valued, or credited, according to the surest rules, and directions in diuinitie, philosophie, astrologie, and other learning*, (London, 1588) p.53, accessed via EEBO.
101 Knight, *Merlin: Knowledge and Power,* p.102
102 John Cotta, *The infallible true and assured vvitch, or, The second edition of the tryall of witch-craft shewing the right and true methode of the discoverie,* (London, 1625) pp.49-50, accessed via EEBO.

dismissing him as 'the child of an incubus'.[103] Likewise, his prophesies could be used to 'confer supernatural approval upon the monarchy'.[104] This was the case in Thomas Heywood's 1641 publication *The Life of Merlin* which Stephen Knight argues was used to link, through the prophecies of Merlin (and others), Arthur, the nationally unifying monarch and restorer of the church to the contemporary monarchs of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I thus providing supernatural approval to legitimise their reigns.[105] This invocation of Merlin as a 'restorer of the church' also served to make Merlin not just a Christian prophet, but a Protestant one too.[106] It is interesting however to see that Heywood seems to gloss over Merlin's demonic heritage only mentioning in passing that 'by some authours it is affirmed of him that hee was skilfull in darke and hidden arts, as Magick, Necromancy'.[107]

To close therefore this brief discussion of the male magician Merlin, it seems that he presented early modern writers, thinkers and demonologists with the perfect example of the demonic male magical practitioner by virtue not only of his skills but also through his devilish parentage. After all what better example could there be of the inherently demonic nature of magic, even when used for good, than a figure with the devil for his father? Nonetheless, to some he also held the key to asserting royal and religious legitimacy in a time of significant upheavals, thus creating an uneasy relationship between Merlin and early modern commentators; perhaps this is a reflection of the relationship between male power and authority and by extension, the male witch and power.

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103 Thomas, *Decline,* p.484.
104 Peter H. Goodrich, 'Introduction' in Peter H. Goodrich and Raymond H. Thompson (eds.) *Merlin: A Casebook*, (New York, 2003), p.21.
105 Knight, *Merlin: Knowledge and Power,* p.116.
106 Thomas, *Decline,* p.486.
107 Heywood, *The Life of Merlin*, p.27.

CONCERNING WITCHES, WIZARDS, SORCERERS AND MAGICIANS

Today, when we discuss witchcraft we have strictly gendered terms for magical practitioners, witches are female and wizards, or perhaps warlocks, are male. In early modern England, however, these labels were considerably more interchangeable. The terms witches, wizards, sorcerers and magicians all feature heavily within the demonological texts, although as there existed no unified spelling conventions they appear in different forms depending on the author. Likewise, early modern authors also had no unified meaning attached to these terms. What follows is a discussion of what terms the prominent writers of the period used to define magical practitioners and the genders they assigned to them.

Of the demonological texts selected for this study, George Gifford, was the first to be published in 1587. In his dialogue Gifford uses the words 'witch' and 'conjurer' to describe his magical practitioners and his gendered divisions for each. The term 'witch' he links exclusively to the feminine stating, for example, that 'the witch is not also great, but yet the pore old hagge thinketh her self strong', that Satan 'seemeth to be a seruaunt vnto the Witch, but shee is his seruaunt', 'and to come now to the witch, what hurt doth shee?'[108] To the term 'conjurer' he assigns the masculine. Throughout both of his tracts, the second being published in 1592. Thus he refers to the conjurer as a 'he' for example writing that 'the coniurer estemeth him selfe',[109] 'The coniurer hee [i.e. Satan] bindeth […] & so maketh him serue his turn'[110] and also the 'coniurer, sayth he, can coniure him into a man, or out of a man: let him coniure him but into a mans chest if he can, to fetch

[108] Gifford, *Subtill Practises,* Gv.
[109] Gifford, *Subtill Practises,* Gv
[110] George Gifford, *A dialogue concerning witches and witchcraftes In which is laide open how craftely the Diuell deceiueth not onely the witches but many other and so leadeth them awrie into many great errours,* (London, 1592) F3, accessed via EEBO

somewhat from thence'.[111] However, our next writer, Henry Holland, in a work published in 1590, midway between Gifford's two dialogues, uses the term 'witch' to mean both male and female, asserting that 'A witch is yet but a wicked man or woman that worketh with the devil'.[112] James I, by contrast, writing a few years later in 1597, indiscriminately uses the term magician (magicien, magiciane), as well as a fleeting reference to 'sorcerers', and seems thoroughly unconcerned with gender beyond attempting to answer why 'there are twentie women giuen to that craft, where ther is one man.' James concluded, in the agreed fashion of the time that, women are 'frailer then man is, so is it easier to be intrapped in these grosse snares of the Deuill, as was ouer well proued to be true, by the Serpents deceiuing of *Eua* at the beginning'.[113]

As we enter the seventeenth century, the term 'magician', used by James I, becomes slightly more prominent with both William Perkins and Thomas Cooper quoting Acts 8:9 which states that 'A Witch is a Magitian, who, either by open or secret league, wittingly and willingly, consenteth to vse the aide of the deuill in working of Wonders'.[114] Yet despite writing just seven years apart, in 1610 and 1617 respectively, they also differ on the use of the word 'witch'. Perkins follows in the tradition of Henry Holland stressing that by 'the Witch, whether man or woman … I comprehend both sexes or kindes of persons, men and women, excluding neither from beeing Witches'.[115] He is followed in this tradition by Alexander Roberts who, writing in 1616, also uses the term 'witch' for both male and female stating that 'neither be they all women […] but men also on whose behalf no exception can be laid'.[116] Cooper instead uses the term 'magician' as feminine, writing that

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111 Gifford, *Dialogue concerning witches,* L2.
112 Holland, *Treatise,* B3.
113 James I, *Daemonologie in forme of a dialogue, diuided into three bookes,* (Edingburgh, 1597) pp.43-44, accessed via EEBO.
114 Cooper, *Mystery,* p.177; and Perkins, *Discourse* p.167.
115 Perkins, *Discourse,* pp.167-168.
116 Roberts, *A Treatise,* p.5.

'A Magit[i]an, I say, to signifie that that she professeth and practiseth this Art'[117] though he also uses the term 'witch' throughout his work linking it also with the female. Although Cooper does not deny the capability of men to be seduced by Satan, he seems to struggle with how to define the male magical practitioner and has no specific term to describe them. Only once in his tract does the word 'wisard' appear for example and here he attaches no gender to the term.[118] Following in the tradition of Holland, Perkins and Roberts, however, is John Gaule who published his treatise in 1655. Gaule also linked the term 'witch' to both the masculine and the feminine declaring that 'the bad witch, they are wont to call him or her … the good witch they count him or her' and expressing the opinion that the 'male witch is worse then the female', though it must be noted that Gaule is alone in this assertion.[119]

Our final source, however, overturns all the conventions of his predecessors. Writing in 1681 the theologian Joseph Glanvill uses the terms 'wizzards' and 'magicians' to describe the male magical practitioner, describing them specifically as *he-witches* and linking the two terms together by stating that 'Magicians […] can exhibit to the sight manifold prestigious Transformations through diabolical assistance and are … as I noted above; […] *Wizzards* or He-witches'.[120] Glanvill also makes mention of a Scottish 'warlock' by the name of John Stuart who was tried for witchcraft in 1678 at Paisley.[121] This word 'warlock' in the context of male witch is identifiably Scottish in origin, however it had long been in circulation in England as a term for an oathbreaker, traitor or devil.[122] Its use to denote a male witch or magical practitioner had filtered down from Scotland during the sixteenth-

[117] Cooper, *Mystery,* p.177.
[118] Cooper, *Mystery,* p.216.
[119] Gaule, *Select Cases,* pp.30, 44.
[120] Joseph Glanvilll, *Saducismus Triumphatus*, (London, 1681) p.38, accessed via EEBO.
[121] Glanvill, *Saducimus Triumphatus,* pp. 293-299.
[122] Malcolm Gaskill, *Witchcraft: A Very Short Introduction,* (Oxford, 2010), p.29; warlock, n.1." OED Online, Oxford University Press, December 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/225756. Accessed 28 January 2019.

century. For example, we see a case in 1597 at Newcastle were one William Ford was ordered to undertake penance for 'consulting with a warlow.'[123] Despite its infiltration into the lexicon of English witchcraft, the term 'warlock' remained rather rare in its usage amongst English writers with Glanvill being the only example amongst the demonological texts examined in this chapter.

It seems therefore that there was some disagreement during the early modern period on what precisely to call the male magical practitioner. Whilst 'witch' seems to perhaps be the most commonly used term during the seventeenth century, they may also have been called 'magicians', 'conjurers' and 'wizards', with the latter being the only one explicitly linked to the masculine. For the purpose of this research, however, and for continuity, we shall call our men 'male witches' for it seems that 'witch' was how they were most frequently described by their contemporaries.

BECOMING THE SERVANT OF SATAN: MAKING THE DEMONIC COMPACT

It was during the medieval period that the practise of witchcraft came to be solidly linked with the notion of making a pact with the devil. One may find tales of demonic pacts throughout history. St Augustine writing in the fourth-century described the notion of a pact between human and devils.[124] Another, more famous example is that of the sixth-century Christian saint, Theophilius who allegedly signed a pact with the devil in order to gain magical powers.[125] During the late thirteenth-century, Thomas Aquinas, challenging the tenth-century Canon *Episcopsi's* claims that witchcraft did not exist and such beliefs were no more than heretical, pagan superstitions,[126] argued firstly, that witchcraft

[123] Julian Goodare, 'Men and the Witch-Hunt in Scotland' in Rowlands, *Witchcraft and Masculinities,* p. 158.
[124] Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: The Demonization of Christians In Medieval Christendom,* 2nd Edition (Chicago, 2001) p.114.
[125] Bailey, *Superstition,* p.114.
[126] Schoeneman, 'The Witch Hunt as a Culture Change Phenomenon', *Ethos,* 5 (1975), 42.

was a very real and present evil in the world and secondly, that those who used demons had either, explicitly or tacitly, entered into a pact with them.[127] In the early fifteenth century, the writings of Johann Nider were amongst the first to describe at length the pact made with the devil.[128] Of course, the infamous *Malleus Maleficarum* also had something to say on the subject of demonic pacts writing that 'there are two methods of making the avowal. One is a ceremonial way similar to a ceremonial vow. The other is a private one that can be made to a demon individually at any hour'.[129] Likewise, within the English demonological texts published a century and more later, the demonological pact underpins every aspect of witchcraft. Thus, Henry Holland wrote in 1590 that those who practice witchcraft:

> First […] renounce God and all true religion. 2. they blaspheme & prouoke his diuine maiesty with vnspeakable cotempt. 3. they beleeue in the deuill, adore him, & sacrifice vnto him. 4. they offer their children vnto deuils. 5. they sweare vnto Satan & promise to bring as many as they can vnto his seruice & profession.[130]

Holland believed there to be three kinds of covenant that the witch could make with the devil which he classified as 'an open, express, and euident leage and confederacie with Sathan', 'a more hid and secret' and 'some mixt […] betweene both'.[131] He, helpfully, went on to describe these types of covenants and the kinds of magic involved in them noting that:

> Vnto the open and expresse confederacie, belong all manifest coniurations and practises of Pythonistes: vnto the secret kinde, all close and secret operations by Sathan, in diuining, astrologie, palmistrie, and such like: vnto the third kinde, apperteine all the practises of superstitious magicke in all sorceries whatsoeuer.[132]

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[127] Joseph Klaits, *Servants of Satan: The Age of the Witch Hunts,* (Indiana, 1985), p.36.
[128] Michael D. Bailey, *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages,* (Pennsylvania, 2003), pp.40-41.
[129] Christopher Mackay, *The Hammer of the Witches: A Complete Translation of the Malleus Maleficarum*, (Cambridge, 2009) p.285.
[130] Holland, *Treatise,* L4
[131] Holland, *Treatise,* F2.
[132] Holland, *Treatise,* F2.

In Holland's view therefore, *all* magic was demonic in nature from the conjuring of demons to the superstitious rituals performed by lay people. A few years later in 1597 James VI of Scotland, later to become James I of England, wrote in his highly influential work *Daemonologie,* a similar description of how a man finds himself in the service of Satan stating that the devil:

> First perswades them to addict themselues to his seruice … he then discouers what he is vnto them: makes them to renunce their God and *Baptisme* directlie, and giues them his marke vpon some secreit place of their bodie, which remaines soare vnhealed, while his next meeting with them, and thereafter euer insesible, how soeuer it be nipped or pricked by any … to giue them a proofe thereby, that as in that doing, hee could hurte and heale them; so all their ill and well doing thereafter, must depende vpon him.[133]

As England entered the seventeenth-century the demonological writers developed further the idea of the demonic compact and, as writing styles changed so did the language used to describe their reality. Interestingly, three demonological texts that were written during the last decade of the sixteenth-century, by George Gifford, Henry Holland and James I, were formulated in the style of a debate between two or more participants. During the seventeenth-century however, this style of writing was replaced by a more philosophical construction that shunned the use of the dialogic format. Of the demonological and theological tracts used for this study, as listed in *Appendix I*, William Perkins is the first to be published during the seventeenth-century in 1610. His *A Discourse of the Damned art of Witchcraft* was far longer than previous English demonological texts. Perkins is also the first of our authors to explicitly consider men capable of making a pact with the devil. However, unlike his predecessor Henry Holland, Perkins believed there were just two ways in which people might bind themselves to the devil, rather than three. Firstly:

> The expresse and manifest compact is so tearmed, because it is made by solemne words on both parties … First, the Witch for his part, as a slaue of the deuill,

[133] James I, *Daemonologie,* p.33.

> binds himselfe vnto him by solemne vowe and promise to renounce the true God, his holy word, the couenant he made in Baptisme, and his redemption by Christ … to beleeue in the deuil, to expect & receiue aide and helpe from him, and at the end of his life, to giue him either bodie, or soule, or both … for the ratifying here of, he giues to the deuil for the present, either his owne hand-writing, or some part of his blood, as a pledge & earnest pennie to bind the bargaine.[134]

Secondly, Perkins argues that the witch may bind themselves by 'a secret and close league between the Witch and Satan is that, w[h]erein they mutually giue consent each to other, but yet without a sworne couenant conceiued in expresse words and conference'.[135] He also fails to include the kinds of magic that each covenant would include. It seems however that Perkins's slimmed down idea of two covenants caught on. In a similar vein to Perkins, John Gaule writing in 1646 also explains that the witch enters into a covenant with the devil in two ways, explicit and implicit, though he differs on the meaning behind this. Firstly it should be said that although Gaule does not explicitly mention the male in his description of the covenant his earlier assertion that the witch may be both male and female suggests that he has no theological objection to men being able to compact with the devil. Furthermore, this lack of gender division suggests that he sees no difference between the female and the male compact. In Gaule's explicit covenant the witch binds him or herself to the devil in a similar way to Perkins 'by word of writing; wherein it is mutually stipulated; the witch to doe the Devills will; and the Devill to doe the witches will' though he does not explicitly mention the renunciation of their baptism or giving of the witch's blood.[136] However, it is in his description of the implicit covenant that he differs slightly from Perkins. Gaule's account of the 'implcite or more secret' covenant is more descriptive, for he argues that it may be done;

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[134] Perkins, *Discourse,* pp.47-48.
[135] Perkins, *Discourse,* p.51.
[136] Gaule, *Select Cases,* p.70.

> divers ways; as first by meer Assent that the Devill should doe it, and saith that he will doe it. 2. By a Pro[…]y, yeilding and assenting to receive and use, Rules, signes, and means from other Witches, without and immediate vow of Conference as yet. 3. By using superstitious Innovations, or Impreciations, witha perswasion or Expectation of their
> Issue. 4. By employing means to those purposes, to which God never appointed them, nor their owne nature enclined them; and yet confident of their Effect. 5. By seeking too, and consulting with Witches for their advice, helpe, &c/ For there is the same faith and assent now both of the Consulter and the Practiser. 6. By assenting to use such meanes and signes as witches also use.[137]

He further explains the differences between these two covenants by stating that 'The Explicite is to become a perpetuall witch; the Implicite may onely be so but for that present Act, or time being' though he takes care to assert that the implicte compact can with time 'grow to be Explicite at length'[138] The fact that he explicitly mentions that visiting a witch for help or advice causes one to enter into a compact with the devil fits with the dominant ideology surrounding cunning men and women, which we shall come to shortly. Furthermore, this belief in the explicit capability of men to succumb and enter into a covenant with the devil was also revealed in the work of Joseph Glanvill in 1681. Glanvill provides us with an example of a man named as John Stuart who confessed to crimes of witchcraft. In his confession, Stuart allegedly recalled:

> That the Devil under the shape of a black man … called the Declarant quietly by his name … And that the first thing that the black man required, was, that the Declarant should renounce his Baptism, and deliver himself up wholly to him: Which the Declarant did, by putting one hand on the crown of his Head, and the other on the sole of his Foot … he was tempted to it by the Devil's promising that he should not want any pleasure, and that he should get his heart filled on all that shall do him wrong … he gave him the name of *Jonas* for his Spirits name.[139]

Clearly, the idea of a compact with the devil was at the heart of witchcraft beliefs in England, and men were not excluded from making such a compact. Indeed, the theological

[137] Gaule, *Select Gases*, pp.70-72.
[138] Gaule, *Select Cases,* pp.73-74.
[139] Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus,* pp.293-294.

and demonological writes of the period made no distinction between the ability of men and women to make such a pact. Furthermore, they also seem not to differentiate between the level of devotion that male and female witches had to the devil, both were conceived of as giving their soul wholly to the devil and renouncing their baptism whilst binding themselves to the devil. However, whilst the authors of the demonological texts agreed on this underlying aspect of male witchcraft, they were less unified on the precise details of the kinds of *maleficium* that men practiced.

MALEFICA & MALEFICUS

William Perkins conducts a detailed explanation of the different kinds of magic that witches use. In particular, we can see in his explanation of the practice of divination that it was a magical art he believed was practised by men. For example, he writes that 'Diuination is a part of Witchcraft, whereby men reueale strange things, either past, prese[nt], or to come, by the assistance of the deuill … by putting into mens mindes wicked purposes and counsls'.[140] Here we see the difficulty expressed earlier with the use of the plural masculine that might indicate either an all male group or one that might include both male and female subjects. However, if we look further at his discourse regarding divination we see that in his consideration of the types of witchcraft he further links them to male witches stating that 'The first, [kind] is by the flying and noise of birds. Sorcerers among the heathen, vsed to obserue foules in their flight'.[141] Secondly, he notes the practise of divination through the use of the entrails of beasts. Perkins provides an example of this practice from the scriptures:

> Where Nabuchadnezzar being to make warre both with the Iewes and the Ammonites, and doubting in the way which enterprise to vndertake first, he offers a sacrifice to the Idol gods, and opening the bellie of the sacrifice, looks

[140] Perkins, *Discourse,* pp.56, 60.
[141] Perkins, *Discourse,* p.66.

> vpon the liuer, and by the signes therein found, he iudgeth what should be the issue of the warre.[142]

That the example of Nabuchadnezzar is of a man allows us perhaps to infer that Perkins thought it conceptually possible for men to practice such arts. Finally, in his description of divination by the casting of 'Lots', he writes that this is 'when men take vpon them to search out fortune … by casting of Lots, whether it be by casting a die, or opening of booke, or any such cauall meanes'.[143] Here again, we see the use of 'men' that may indicate both male or female, however, if one looks at a later description of another kind of divination, he specifically refers to the practitioner in the singular, feminine forms of 'she' and 'her'. Referring to the practice of fortelling and revealing things by the 'immediate assistance of a familiar spirit' he asserts that 'this may be practised when the deuill is forth of the Witch and then he either inpireth her, or els casteth her into a traunce, and therein reueileth vnto her such things as she would know'.[144] Perkins's use of explicitly feminine pronouns in this example might allow one to suggest that he conceived of a gendered difference between the way in which men and women interacted with the devil. In the examples of divination given, Perkins limits the ability of Satan to be able to control the masculine body, however women were quite susceptible to the devil's power. This certainly first with the dominant attitude towards the innate weakness of the female body in comparison to the male and their propensity to be much more inclined to fall into the devil's snares that was prevalent at the time. Joseph Glanvill, however, disagrees with Perkins on this point and argues that both men and women were capable of divination through the use of familiar spirits, stating that 'the Witch or Wizzard […] that asks counsel of his Familiar, and does by vertue of him give Answers unto others'.[145]

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142 Perkins, *Discourse,* p.67.
143 Perkins, *Discourse,* pp.104-105.
144 Perkins, *Discourse,* pp.121-123.
145 Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus,* p.28.

Other writers such as Alexander Roberts attribute the ability to practice other kinds of magic to men, for example, that of charming, which is the practice of using signs and phrases to effect a response either through finding some lost item, curing an illness or causing one to fall in love. Roberts writes that 'the Charmes of Wisards [and] the effects they produce, being supernaturall, must proceed from that secret compact, at the least made with the Diuell'.[146] George Gifford also links men with the practice of charming writing of 'These cunning men and women which deale with spirites and charmes seéming to doe good, and draw the people into manifold impieties'.[147] Likewise, Perkins also conceives of charmers being male, opining that ' the charme vttered by the Charmer himselfe, will take effect,' and that 'There be charmes for all conditions and ages of men, for diuers kinds of creatures, yea for euery disease; as for head-ach, tooth-ach, stitches, and such like'.[148] In many of the treatises, the character of Balaam from Numbers 23:27 is quoted as scriptural evidence of the practise of charming. Balaam is another scriptural example, like that of Nabuchadnezzar, of a male sorcerer, thus adding credence to the idea that men could be guilty of performing charms.

If we turn our attention briefly to Joseph Glanvill, we notice that quite often during his text he refers to both 'witches and wizzards' when describing particular forms of witchcraft. As we have established, Glanvill considered 'wizzards' to be 'he-witches', yet his work does not become easier to read for this, as Glanvill, unlike the authors of our other treatises, was primarily a philosopher. Thus, *Saducismus Triumphatus* is a more complex work. Following in its rational and scientific tradition, it covers such topics as the nature of matter, and Glanvill seeks to provide a firm explanation for the reality of witchcraft and the spirit world.[149] Nevertheless it is clear that Glanvill presumed that witches, both male

[146] Roberts, *A Treatise,* p.70.
[147] Gifford, *Dialogue,* K3v.
[148] Perkins, *Discourse* pp.136, 153.
[149] Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.245.

and female, would be in possession of a familiar, a spirit in animal form that would do their bidding.[150] Likewise John Sterne, a key figure in the East Anglian witch-hunts, concluded in his treatise *A Confirmation and Discovery of Witchcraft*, that men may own familiars that they can entreat to do their bidding. He tells of a man who 'in his confession, he confessed, that […] hee covenanted with the Devill, and sealed it with his bloud, and had three Familiars or spirits, which sucked on the markes found upon his body, and did much harme, both by Sea and Land, especially by Sea'.[151] Yet our best source for the magical practices of men remains William Perkins, who outlines succinctly the kinds of *maleficium* that men performed. In his discussion of the types of witches he writes:

> The *bad Witch,* is he or she that hath consented in league with the Deuill, to vse his helpe, for the doing of hurt onely, as to strike and annoy the bodies of men, women, children, and cattell with diseases, and with death it selfe: so likewise to raise tempests, by sea and by land.
>
> The *good Witch,* is he or shee that by consent in a league with the deuill, doth vse his help, for the doing of good onely. This cannot hurt, torment, curse, or kill, but onely heale and cure the hurts inflicted vpon men or cattell, by badde Witches.[152]

Thus, it seems that to Perkins, that men were capable of exactly the same kinds of magic as women, of helping and harming both human and cattle. It is clear to see that all of the writers who have been discussed here possessed the belief that men were capable of at least some kind of *maleficium* be it charming, divination, killing or healing.

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[150] Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus,* p.28.
[151] John Sterne*, A confirmation and discovery of witchcraft containing these severall particular: that there are witches ... together with the confessions of many of those executed since May 1645,* (London, 1648) pp.23-24, accessed via EEBO,
[152] Perkins, *Discourse* pp.173-174.

CUNNING MEN

Throughout the demonological texts published during the early modern period, the authors make a number of references to cunning men. Cunning folk or good witches as they were known, were typically men (and women) who used witchcraft for benign or good purposes and were often sought out to help resolve some of the issues that arose in daily life. James Sharpe lists the four primary reasons that one might seek help from such 'good' witches. Firstly, they were consulted for help in finding lost and stolen goods and – in cases of the latter type-; helping to identify the thief. Secondly, they were used as a means to heal various illnesses in both humans and animals. Thirdly, they were approached for general fortune telling for such things as the sex of unborn children. Finally, they might be consulted to identify witches and to deal with *maleficium*.[153] With few options available for the sick, and for those believing themselves to be touched by maleficent witchcraft, cunning men and women were often seen as integral to community life as healers, finders of lost property and as a remedy to remove any bewitchments should one be unfortunate enough to find oneself the subject of a witch's malice. Yet their use of witchcraft caused them to occupy a precarious position within society. It had been ruled, specifically by the Witchcraft act of 1604 that consulting, feeding, entertaining, employing, rewarding of making a covenant with any evil spirit was punishable by law. The statue however, stopped short of acknowledging the theologians' assertions that both good and evil magic is obtained through a pact made with the devil.[154] Yet the popularity of cunning folk amongst the common people caused the demonologists of the period to speak at length about these cunning folk in order to entreat common folk about the dangers of consulting such people. It is here that the mention of male witches becomes most prominent; it is also one of the

[153] Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.67.
[154] Clive Holmes, 'Witches, Magistrates, and Divines in Early Modern England' in Brian P. Levack (ed.) *Witchcraft in England*, Volume 6 (New York, 1992), p.23.

few aspects of witchcraft that all the demonological and theological authors discussed here agree upon in terms of severity and punishment although there is some disagreement about the sex of these good witches. George Gifford considers this problem, in his opening comments he remarks that the devil 'worketh by his other sort of Witches, whome the people call cunning men and wise women to confirme all his matters, and by them teacheth many remedies, that so he may be sought vnto and honored as God'.[155] Like Gifford, William Perkins also believed cunning folk to be of both sexes, writing that 'the *good Witch,* is he or shee that by consent in a league with the deuill, doth vse his help, for the doing of good onely … who are better knowne then the bad, beeing comonly called *Wise-men,* or *Wise-women'*.[156] John Sterne goes even further, asserting that men are the primary sex amongst those who practice white magic or 'good witches'. In his *Confirmation and Discovery of Witchcraft*, he asserts that of the two kinds of witches, those who do harm and those who heal:

> Women […] without question exceed men, […] of the hurting Witches; but for the other, I have knowne more men· and have heard such as have gone to them say, almost generally they be men.[157]

Likewise, Henry Holland also considers men to be part of this group of magical practitioners asserting that 'Most men are wont to seeke after these wise men, and cunning women, such as they cal witches, in sickenesse, in losses, and in all extremities'.[158] Finally, Alexander Roberts, although he has little to say on the subject, writes of 'Witches, Cunning Men, and Women, &c. Whose Art is such a hidden mystery of wickednesse, and so vnsearchable a depth of Sathan, that neither the secrets of the one can be discouered'.[159]

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[155] Gifford, *Dialogue,* A3.
[156] Perkins, *Discourse* pp.174-176.
[157] Sterne*, Confirmation,* p.11.
[158] Holland, *Treatise,* p.16.
[159] Roberts, *A Treatise,* p.2.

Thus we can see that amongst most of the demonological writers of the period were quite prepared view men as part of this group of cunning folk who practised good magic. Yet, it is worth mentioning that some were not. Thomas Cooper, for example, disagrees with Perkins, Gifford, Roberts, Holland and Sterne's assertions that men are likely to be found amongst the good witches. Instead, he argues that good witches were primarily female stating that:

> the *good Witch,* being lessoned by her *accursed Maister,* doth hereby endeuor to performe truest seruice vnto him, euen by hunting after and ensnaring the precious soules of men: And to this purpose she hath no more dangerous snare then this *condition of Faith,* that those who will haue helpe or succour at her hands, must *beleeue shee can doe them good.*[160]

As we have seen, the majority of demonological writers considered men to be prominent amongst those witches who practised good or 'white' magic. If we proceed to look at the types of magic that these cunning folk undertook we might then be able to gain a tentative understanding of some of the magical arts which were primarily associated with men.

What becomes apparent when we look at the demonological descriptions of the practices of these cunning men is that there is an interrelationship between the types of magic outlined above. The works of George Gifford and William Perkins go into the most detail about the practises of these witches and thus provide us with the best examples for attempting to understand what magic was attributed to cunning men. A character in George Gifford's *Dialogue*, for example, tells of a cunning man whom an acquaintance visited after they 'had great losses, he lost two or threé kine; six hogs … and a mare. He went to that same man, and told him hee suspected an old woman in the parish … [The cunning man] shewed him her in a Glasse'.[161] One might well link this with the practise of divination: the revealing of information through the use of an object, furthermore, we may

[160] Cooper, *Mystery,* p.219.
[161] Gifford, *Dialogue,* G2.

conclude this by a later tale relayed in Gifford's work, of several churchwardens 'that went to the cunning man, to knowe the theefe which had stollen their communion cuppe … the cunning man bad them go to such a place, such a night, and at such an hower, and thither shall come he that stole the cup. '[162] Gifford goes on to explain that this would only be possible because of the 'power the deuill hath in the mind of a theefe. He stirred him vp to steale the cup … Hee nameth the place and the time ... And at the time appointed heé bringeth him thither, for he that could moue him to steale, could also by secrete suggestion mooue him to goe thither'.[163] What is interesting about Gifford's *Dialogue* is that it was published shortly after two women, Elizabeth Maun and Mary Wiseman, were presented to the ecclesiastical courts at Maldon in 1591. Gifford's role as an ordained deacon would have meant that he was likely to have been present at the trials.[164] John Sterne also contends that wise men are able to 'know where stolen goods be, either by raising the Devill, or Familiar Spirits'.[165] This description of the devil's power to put in motion events is similar to that given by William Perkins who explains 'how the deuill beeing a creature, should be able to manifest and bring to light things past, or to foretell things to come'.[166] Of course, Perkins provides a number of explanations for the devil's possession of such knowledge. Primarily he argues that the devil:

> Hauing therefore: first brought into the minde of man, a resolution to doe some euill, he goes and reueales it to the Witch, and by force of perswasion vpon the partie tempted, he frames the action intended to the time foretold, and so final|ly deludes the Witch his owne instrument, foretelling nothing, but what himselfe hath compassed and set about.[167]

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[162] Ibid. G2
[163] Ibid. G2v
[164] Alan Macfarlane, 'A Tudor Anthropologist: George Gifford's Discourse and Dialogue' in Syndey Anglo (ed.) *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft,* (Oxford, 1977), pp.140-1.
[165] Sterne, *Confirmation,* p.10.
[166] Perkins, *Discourse* p.56.
[167] Perkins, *Discourse,* p.61.

A second example of the abilities cunning men were held to possess is also discussed in Perkins's work. Perkins opines that when a man who has sickened seeks a wise man, 'the Witch then beeing certified of the disease, prescribeth either Charmes of words to be vsed ouer him, or other such counterfeit meanes'.[168] Gifford also attributes charming to the practises of cunning men, and one of his characters remarks that 'Some vse a charme for the tooth ach another for the ague, and for stopping the bleéding at the nose, also their spell for the theéfe … when butter will not come, when cheefe will not runne, nor Ale worke in the fatte'.[169] Furthermore, John Sterne observes a similar use of charms amongst wise men, asserting that 'Some […] set spells; Some Charmes; […] severall wayes, either by words, or …by using and saying superstitious words, or forme of prayers'.[170] Once again, we can relate this practise of 'white magic', used for good purposes to the earlier discourses on the diabolic nature of using charms.

Thus we have seen that although cunning men were considered to practise magic to help and heal people they embodied many of the same types of witchcraft that were considered to be diabolical in nature. Divination, charming and the use of familiars all incurred the ire of the early modern theologians, even when practiced by good witches. All the theologians were at least agreed upon this point, that those who use magic for good purposes were more wicked than those who practised harmful magic. The reasoning behind this is explained by Alexander Roberts who argues that 'it is not lawfull for any Christian to consult with a witch or wisard, or goe to them for help [for] that help which any receiue from them bringeth destruction of our soules'.[171] Perkins agrees, asserting that 'of the two, the more horrible & de[te]stable Monster is the good Witch … For the one did onely hurt the bodie, but the deuill by meanes of the other, though he haue left the bodie

168 Perkins, *Discourse,* p.175.
169 Gifford, *Dialogue,* F4v
170 Sterne, *Confirmation,* p.10.
171 Roberts, *A Treatise,* pp.61-63.

in good plight, yet he hath laid fast hold on the soule, and by curing the body, hath killed that'.[172]

It is plain then that early modern demonologists held a particular hatred for these cunning folk that can perhaps best be explained by returning briefly to the idea of the demonic compact. As we discussed above, it was believed during the early modern period that all magic, whether used for good or ill came from demonic forces, and could be obtained in at least two, maybe three, ways through an explicit or implicit covenant with the devil. Henry Holland provides the clearest outline of the types of compact and the kinds of magic that they included. Based on this, malefic witches would, generally, enter into only one kind of covenant with Satan. Cunning folk, however, with their broad range of services and skills entered into all three and were, therefore, three times more diabolic than their malefic cousins.[173] In addition all demonologist and theologians believed that these 'detestable' creatures snared innocent souls into the ways of the Devil with their craft.

There has been some interesting work by historians on the subject of cunning folk that has tended to agree with the assertion of early modern writers that men made up a large proportion of these good witches. Owen Davies's book *Popular Magic: Cunning Folk in English History* provides an engaging discussion of the role which cunning folk, wise-men and good witches have played in English life over the last five hundred years. In his study, Davies notes that it is one area of magic that changed very little in its social profile. Throughout the whole period that Davies studied, men made up approximately two-thirds of cunning folk and they tended to come from the 'semi-literate' stratum of society that 'possessed a certain degree of authority in the community' such as artisans and

[172] Perkins, *Discourse* pp.174-176.
[173] Davies, *Popular Magic,* p.30.

craftsmen.[174] This idea is reinforced by the earlier work of Alan Macfarlane who, for example, lists all those brought before the courts in Essex for being cunning folk; of the 66 that he lists some 44 were men.[175] James Sharpe also concludes like Davies, that cunning men employed more elaborate techniques and equipment, such as books, than their female counterparts, suggesting a higher rate of literacy which was generally not found among the lowest classes.[176] Cunning men, therefore, provide an interesting insight into the world of the male witch in a group, which in the reverse of the norm; they make up the majority of those suspected and accused and therefore are an important subsection of this study.

PERHAPS NOT SO UNTHINKABLE?

As we have seen in this chapter, the theological writers of the period held many opinions and beliefs about male practitioners of witchcraft, yet there was little coherency between them. What one writer might believe to be the case another would disagree with. Yet we can at least conclude with certainty that there was no conceptual barrier to the idea of male witches in contemporary thought, disproving Clark's assertion that it was 'literally unthinkable' on a demonological level 'that witches should be male'.[177] Whilst much of the theologians work could be considered misogynistic, such as the writers proclamations of women's inferiority to men,[178] and therefore credence to the argument that witch-hunting was the result of the misogynistic and patriarchal society that saw women as a threat we cannot ignore the overwhelming evidence that theologians of the early modern period thought it entirely plausible that men, as well as women, should be tempted by the devil and commit the abominable sin of witchcraft. Furthermore, despite the contradicting ideas

[174] Davies, *Popular Magic*, pp.68-69.
[175] Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, pp.117-18.
[176] Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England* p.57.
[177] Clark, *Thinking with Demons,* pp.129-30.
[178] For remarks about female inferiority see in particular; Perkins, *Discourse* pp.168-19; Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus,* p.29; and Cooper, *Mystery,* p.206.

presented in these treatises, it is possible to extract a general idea of male witchcraft. First, it was clearly believed that men differed little in their practises of magic to women. Although some authors did indeed conceive of a gender division between the types of witchcraft generally it was thought that men were as able as women to invoke harmful magic against another person or beast. This is particularly apparent in the work of William Perkins who asserted that good and bad witches could be both male and female, thus both were capable of the same kinds of *maleficium*. Secondly, we may conclude that it was commonly believed that the making of a pact between the devil and a witch also extended to men and that there was little difference in the way in which these pacts were made. Both men and women could bind themselves to Satan through a renunciation of God and their baptism, and the theologians did not perceive that there would be a difference in the power dynamic between men and the devil compared with that which existed between women and the devil. However, they did conceive a difference between the kinds of magic that they might practice, with many viewing men as more likely to participate in magic as cunning folk rather than malefic witches.

What is interesting however is that the demonoglocial and theological writiers of the period did conceive a difference in the visual nature of male and female witches, or rather they were preoccupied more with representing female witches as physically representing their inner malice and devillish nature. This preoccupation follows the development of the visual culture of witchcraft that occurred at the end of the fifteenth century in which Europe and, by extension, England began to see artists render the witch not only as a female, rather than a male learned magic practitioner, but also as ugly, old and hag-like, filled with malice and engaged in the diabolic activities of a malicious witch.

CHAPTER TWO: MALE WITCHES IN PAMPHLET LITERATURE

In trying to understand popular beliefs regarding male witches the logical place to begin is perhaps with the publications in which early modern popular beliefs ae easiest to get at: contemporary printed pamphlets. The first question to be considered before we dive into our examination is 'what is a pamphlet?' The answer is apparently a simple one: the OED for example defines a pamphlet as "a small treatise occupying fewer pages or sheets than a book and usually focusing on a subject of contemporary interest, personal, social, political, ecclesiastical or controversial".[1] Joad Raymond, in his excellent 2003 monograph *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain,* goes further, explaining the technical definition of a pamphlet as a short vernacular work published in quarto format, usually between eight and ninety-six pages, or between one and twelve sheets.[2] These figures were confirmed by the 1712 Stamp Act, though curiously the 'quarto' format is missing from the 1586 agreement regarding book lengths made by the Stationers' Company.[3] Of course the answer is much more complex; George Orwell for example likened it to asking 'what is a dog?' arguing that whilst we may *know* what a dog or, in this case, a pamphlet is, it is not easy to give a clear verbal definition nor, at first sight, to distinguish it from a similar entity such as a jackal or wolf or a leaflet, manifesto or religious tract.[4] Alexandra Halasz, for example, argues against Raymond's quarto definition, instead she asserts that 'no clear and stable lines can be drawn to distinguish between a pamphlet, a small book, and a book'.[5] Halasz's definition certainly holds true for the sources selected for use in this chapter, a full

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1 'Pamphlet, n'. *OED Online,* (Oxford University Press, 1989) http://www.oed.com/oed2/00170056

2 Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain,* (Cambridge, 2003), pp.9, 82.

3 The 1712 Stamp Act defined the maximum length of the pamphlet as 'twelve in quarto' which would equal ninety-six pages when folded.

4 George Orwell, 'Introduction' in George Orwell and Reginald Reynolds (eds.) *British Pamphleteers Volume 1: From the Sixteenth Century to the French Revolution,* (London, 1948), p.7.

5 Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England,* (Cambridge, 1997), p.3.

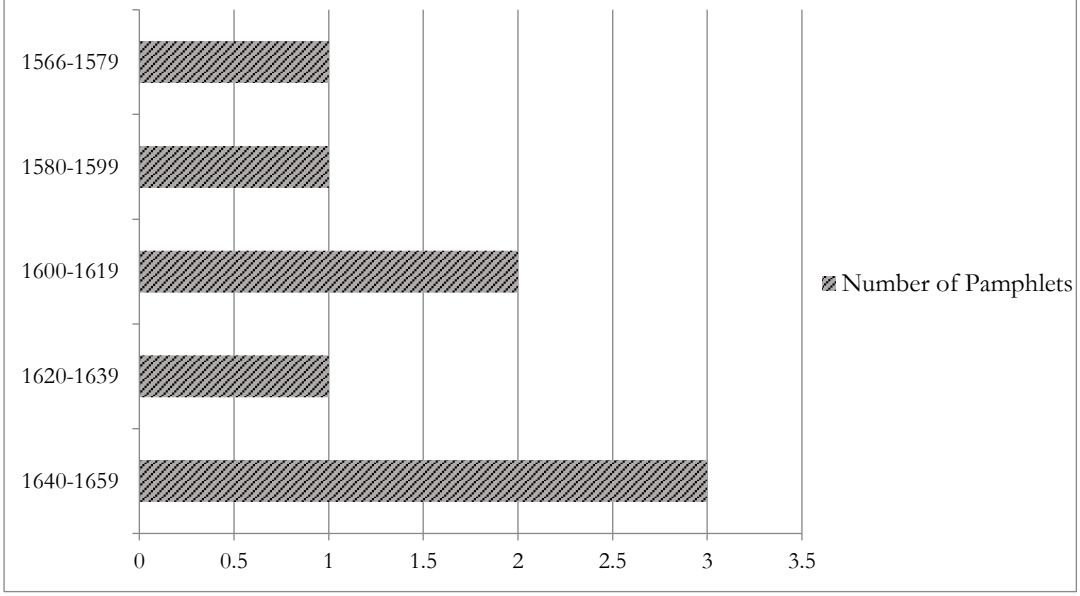
list of which can be found in Appendix II, as all would be classified as pamphlets through the OED definition as contemporary social, ecclesiastical and controversial subjects. However, some pamphlets which can be considered highly important and popular such as Thomas Potts *Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster* far exceed the ninety-six page limit imposed by Raymond and the 1712 Stamp Act running at 188 pages and therefore wandering into the territory of the book.[6] Thus the historian faces a number of challenges when attempting to both define what pamphlets are and how to access them as sources of popular belief as opposed to more learned discourses.

The obscure and ephemeral nature of pamphlets is evident in previous studies of witchcraft pamphlets and is problematic in my own selecting of sources for analysis. For example, Carla Suhr's exploration of the portrayal of attitude in early modern English witchcraft limited its sources to pamphlets consisting of no more than forty-eight pages, which, considering the scarcity of witchcraft pamphlets and especially those concerning male witches seems far too restrictive to provide a solid foundation for an in depth analysis of popular belief.[7] However, Charlotte-Rose Millar's book *Witchcraft, the Devil and Emotions in Early Modern England* provides a wonderfully comprehensive list of early modern witchcraft pamphlets and makes no distinction based on length instead she defines a pamphlet as a publication which focuses on a witchcraft case.[8] Millar's list is made up of sixty-six witchcraft 'pamphlets' published in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries; nine of these were published in the sixteenth century and the remaining forty-eight in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, her list includes titles such as Mathew Hopkins' *The Discovery of Witchcraft* and John Stearne's *A Confirmation and Discovery.* Whilst these titles

[6] Thomas Potts, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster,* (London, 1613).
[7] Carla Suhr, 'Portrayal of Attitude in Early Modern English Witchcraft Pamphlets', *Studia Neophilologica,* 84 (2012), 131.
[8] Charlotte-Rose Millar, *Witchcraft, the Devil and Emotions in Early Modern England,* (London, 2017), pp.276-295.

could loosely be considered pamphlets for the sake of this research I would classify them more as *treatises* rather than as popular literature, especially in the case of Stearne's work which is intimately concerned with the theological issues surrounding witchcraft rather than the trial of the witches themselves. Thus, excluding the titles that may be regarded as treatises rather than popular pamphlets, Millar's list can be reduced to fifty-three pamphlets. Of these fifty-three pamphlets eight discuss male witches either as the primary figure or as part of a larger discussion of multiple witch-trials. *Fig 2.1.* shows the

Fig. 2.1. Distribution of Pamphlets Concerning Male Witches



distribution of these pamphlets during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As can be seen the pamphlets were produced over almost a century and therefore provide an opportunity to discover the continuity and change in popular belief over the key period of the witch hunts.

Pamphlets present a particular problem to historians trying to understand their impact. The growth in popular literature that was previously discussed was facilitated by a dramatic increase in literacy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[9] However,

[9] Andrea McKenzie, 'Lives of the Most Notorious Criminals: Popular Literature of Crime in England, 1675-1775', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Toronto (1999), p.16.

simply stating that literacy increased during the early modern period belies the complexity of the subject at hand. The concept of literacy during this period is somewhat abstract, not easily defined or measured and approaches to measuring literacy in history have divided historians. This difficulty of estimating literacy growth during the early modern period can be put down to two main factors; the dearth of evidence and the problems of interpreting the data that does exist.[10] The most popular approach historians have used to estimate literacy rates is to use 'direct evidence' such as signatures and marks as a measure. As Roger Schofield suggests the ability to sign ones name suggests a 'middle range of literacy' therefore 'a measure based on the ability to sign […] gives a fair indication of the number able to read fluently'.[11] Yet reliance on 'direct evidence' simplifies the conditions of literacy too much. For example Jonathan Barry argues, by this standard you are either 'literate or not' by virtue of being able to mark a signature, ignoring the differences between those with clumsy and basic marks whose level of literacy may be lower than those with more refined signatures.[12] Furthermore, reliance on the ability to sign as evidence of literacy ignores the structure of education in early modern England where reading and writing were taught sequentially as two different skills. Reading was usually learned by the age of seven and education rarely progressed beyond that age due to the value of children's labour to family income. Thus, writing was rarely learned by the less prosperous classes and so the use of 'direct evidence' fails to account for those below the middling class.[13] Instead one might also consider 'indirect evidence' as a means to provide a more complete picture. For example, the rise in the number of schools during the early modern period might help indicate a rise in literacy as well as overall education. However, R.A Houston argues that

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[10] McKenzie, 'Lives of the Most Notorious Criminals', p.16

[11] Roger Schofield, 'Dimensions of Illiteracy, 175-1850', *Explorations in Economic History,* 10 (1973), 440; and R. Schofield, 'The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England', in Jack Goody (ed.), *Literacy in Traditional Societies,* (Cambridge, 1968), p.324.

[12] Jonathan Barry, 'Literacy and Literature in Popular Culture: Reading and Writing in Historical Perspective', in Tim Harris (ed.) *Popular Culture in England, c.1500-1850,* (London, 1995), p.75.

[13] Barry, 'Literacy and Literature', p.76.

although school figures might be a useful measure the connection between them and rates of literacy is obscure. Does the growth in schools produce higher rates of literacy or are higher literacy rates fuelling the need for more schools? It also fails, as direct measures do, to account for differences between classes as although school places might have increased there is little guarantee that this would impact upon the lower classes and upon girls in particular.[14] Moreover, Keith Thomas suggests that it was common for people to be able to read print but not handwriting, allowing them access to printed pamphlets for example.[15] Furthermore, there was a significant difference between urban and rural levels of literacy. Sandra Clark for example estimates that approximately fifty-percent of men in London were literate but figures for rural England were significantly lower.[16] Book production presents a similar problem both due to the complicated nature of cause and effect as well as distribution. Were cheap pamphlets bought relatively frequently by richer families, who might be able to afford three or four pamphlets a year, or were they purchased infrequently by poorer families who might obtain one pamphlet? Furthermore, book production and even figures for sales of books do not equate to readership figures. Not owning a book or pamphlet did not prevent someone from borrowing from another.[17]

Additionally, studies into the readership of popular pamphlets suggest those who had access to these publications was much larger than levels of literacy would suggest. Pamphlets and other literature, such as ballads and broadsides, were regularly distributed outside of London by travelling chapmen who sold these publications in market towns which Gibson argues allowed witchcraft pamphlets to 'reach the public domain.'[18] It was in

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[14] R.A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800,* (Essex, 1988), p.117.
[15] Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in Gerd Baumann (ed.), *The Written Word in Translation*, (Oxford, 1986), p.103.
[16] Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580–1640* (London, 1983), p.19.
[17] Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe,* pp.118-119.
[18] Marion Gibson, *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing,* (London, 2000), p.6

these areas where literacy was generally low that we find it more difficult to determine the readership of popular literature. However, Heidi Brayman Hackel asserts that most early modern consumers of literature 'experienced reading primarily aurally rather than visually' and that it was common for literature people to read broadsides and ballads to their neighbours.[19] Therefore it is possible to suggest that pamphlets reached a wide geographical area and broad social strata of the early modern population. Despite the difficulty in establishing just how significant an impact popular pamphlets had on the lay population and, by extension, popular beliefs, they still remain a vital point of access for historians attempting to map early modern popular belief systems.

Pamphlets became increasingly popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As the printing press took hold, the production of printed material exploded. Between 1588 and 1688 the annual press output of English language publications rose from 211 to 4038 at its peak in 1642.[20] Of course, estimating what percentage of these works were pamphlets and other popular literature formats is a difficult task that is beyond the scope of this work and is something that would, clearly, benefit from further research. However, for the subject of witchcraft it is possible to assemble a preliminary picture of publication output. A quick search of the *English Short Title Catalogue* returns 222 entries for publications concerning witchcraft published between 1566 and 1700. This figure includes *all* publications such as books, treatises, multiple publications and publications concerning witchcraft trials and treatises from continental Europe. However, returning to the list compiled by Millar we can suggest that almost one quarter of these 222 titles were pamphlets relating to witchcraft trials, implying therefore that accounts of these trials was in high demand. This assertion can be reinforced by the general trend for increased

[19] Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender and Literacy,* (Cambridge, 2005), p.46.
[20] Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, pp.163-164.

demand for criminal literature that can be seen during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, the late seventeenth century saw a rise in the publication of 'last dying speeches' and 'execution pamphlets'. Such literature served not only to inform the reader of current, salacious events but also as a form of moral guidance. Hal Gladfelder argues that such publications were a 'crucial source of ideological control' in a 'society whose police and physical means of enforcing order were comparatively weak'.[21] Arguably, trial pamphlets served a similar purpose; to inform the population of exceptional crimes whilst reinforcing the religious morality that defined early modern society. Witchcraft pamphlets are a prime example of this coming together of information, entertainment and guidance.

Developed as a distinctive genre during the Elizabethan and Jacobean period,[22] an estimated fifty-three pamphlets, as defined for this chapter, were published between 1566 and 1700 concerning sensational and prominent witch trials.[23] As noted above, of these fifty-three there are eight that concern male witches either as their sole focus or as part of a larger group of male and female witches. This distribution of focus is particularly useful as it allows for a comparative approach towards analysing popular beliefs concerning male and female witches. The selected pamphlets can be further divided between documentary and narrative styles, a division defined by Marion Gibson who argues that prior to 1590 pamphlet authors used almost wholly documentary sources where 'a documentary approach to truth and proof was dominant'. However, at 'almost exactly 1590' there was a marked change in the 'prose of witchcraft literature' whereby they moved away from the documentary structure and toward a narrative recreation of events.[24] According to Barbara

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[21] Hal Gladfelder, *Criminality and Narrative in Eighteenth-Century England: Beyond the Law*, (Baltimore, 2001), p.51.
[22] Marion Gibson, *Reading Witchcraft: Stories of Early English Witches*, (Oxford, 1999), p.113.
[23] Rose-Millar, *Witchcraft, the Devil and Emotions,* pp.16-18
[24] Barbara Rosen, *Witchcraft in England 1558–1618,* (Massachusetts, 1991), p.213.

Rosen this may have reflected a 'change in the temper of the times' as the task of reporting witchcraft trials fell into the hands of amateurs, with those writing reports on commission such as ministers justifying their beliefs, rich families protecting their reputations and judges displaying their models of procedure.[25] This shift from a documentary to a narrative approach is plainly evident in our selected pamphlets. The anonymous author of a 1566 pamphlet detailing the examination of one John Walsh by Maister Thomas, in the same year presents a concise and formulaic recording of Walsh's alleged answers that, though likely not verbatim, make the reader acutely aware of the interrogator's presence.[26] This style was repeated in a 1579 pamphlet recording the examination of another witch, Elizabeth Stiles.[27] However, Thomas Man and John Winington's *The Most strange and admirable discoverie of the three witches of Warboys* pamphlet that was published just after the 1590 watershed, in 1593, is an entirely different entity.[28] Not only is it considerably longer, 119 pages compared to the 16 pages of the pamphlet dealing with Walsh, but it also forgoes completely the established legal-documentary style in favour of a narrative reconstruction of alleged events. The Warboys pamphlet also supports Rosen's theory that commissioned authors sometimes set out to defend a rich family's reputation. This pamphlet suggests that the Throckmortens who are rich, important members were the innocent party, assaulted by a family of malicious witches who had attacked the younger members of the family.[29] The remainder of the selected pamphlets likewise follow this

[25] Rosen, *Witchcraft in England,* p.213.
[26] Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh before Maister Thomas Williams, commissary to the Reuerend father in God William Bishop of Excester, vpon certayne interrogatories touching wytchcrafter and sorcerye, in the presence of diuers gentlemen and others. The .xxiii. of August. 1566,* (London, 1566).
[27] Anon, *A rehearsall both straung and true, of hainous and horrible actes committed by Elizabeth Stile,* (London, 1579).
[28] Thomas Man and John Winnington, *The most strange and admirable discoverie of the three Witches of Warboys,* (London, 1593).
[29] Man and Winnington, *Strange and admirable discoverie.*

narrative structure whereby the authors recreate the events and actions of the witches in an, oftentimes, sensationalist and salacious manner.

However, one must be cognizant of the difficulties that reading pamphlets as representations and repositories of popular beliefs presents. As Gibson argues, early modern trial pamphlets were a complex amalgamation of multiple voices, starting with the accuser, the magistrate who recorded the complaint, the clerk who recorded, in the formulaic requirements of the court, the examination of the victim and later the interrogation of the suspected witch to the voice of the accused themselves during the trial as well as the author of the pamphlet.[30] The author of the pamphlet could, and did, omit or add details as they wished, either to simplify the process or obscure contradictions. Narratives might be changed to suit a particular angle such as the anti-Catholic rhetoric of Thomas Potts.[31] Such complexity of authorship, sources and editing of narratives makes it hard, as Francis Dolan asserts, to 'distinguish cleanly between how cases actually unfolded and how witnesses or pamphleteers chose to tell that story.' Nevertheless, pamphlets have long been accepted as a vital source in understanding witch-beliefs during the early modern period. Thomas MacFarlane for example states that witchcraft pamphlets are 'a vital and reliable source providing otherwise inaccessible material and correcting the somewhat narrow impression of witchcraft prosecutions given by indictments.'[32] Gibson agrees stating that these pamphlets embody 'the renaissance image of the British witch' and 'form the basis of our understanding of what witchcraft was.'[33] James Sharpe adds that they are 'perhaps the richest' source for allowing us 'to trace a developing set of beliefs about witchcraft.'[34] More recently, Charlotte-Rose Millar has added her voice to this agreement

[30] Gibson, *Early Modern Witches* pp.4-5.
[31] Gibson, *Early Modern Witches,* p.5.
[32] Macfarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.86.
[33] Marion Gibson, *Rediscovering Renaissance Witchcraft,* (Oxford, 2018), p.6; Gibson, *Reading Witchcraft,* p.6.
[34] Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.105.

stating that 'popular pamphlets provide an excellent insight into witchcraft beliefs' and are 'one of the most valuable sources for the study of English witchcraft.'[35] Additionally, as discussed above, it was likely that the readership of early modern witchcraft pamphlets was wider that first expected with a broad geographical and social spectrum of the population engaging with these popular publications and thus with the beliefs and stories they represented. The stance of these historians is one that I agree with and therefore this study shall approach them not as infallible and wholly truthful legal documents but rather as primary sources that allow us insight into the beliefs of pamphleteers, accusers, judge, victims and witches and, to an extent, the wider beliefs of the readers. Further, it shall consider that they contain original documentary material that is not only representative of the events that the writers recorded but also as an embodiment of the image of the witch in English popular belief.

FAIRIES, FAMILIARS AND SPIRITS

The first of our pamphlets was published in 1566 and concerns one John Walsh of Netherbury in Dorsetshire who was examined before Master Thomas Williams on the 20 August that year. Thomas Williams was a member the bishops court under William Alley, the then Bishop of Exeter, though little else is known of him. Of all the witches to be discussed in this chapter Walsh is, perhaps, the most anomalous of the group for a number of reasons. First and most simply is that he is seemingly not accused of practicing *malefic* witchcraft such as causing harm or death through his arts. Instead, Walsh is presented as what can only be described as a cunning man. What identifies him as such is his vehement denial of doing 'any such hurt either in body or goodes' and his confession that he consults with 'Feries' to 'search for things theft stollen', to discern 'who dyd it' and 'where the thing stolen was left'. He further confesses to using said fairies to know when

[35] Charlotte-Rose Millar, *Witchcraft, the Devil and Emotions,* pp.34-5.

any man might be bewitched.[36] These practices to which Walsh confesses are archetypal of the kind of work for which cunning folk would be consulted. It is because of Walsh's status as an assumed cunning man that the publication of his examination is so interesting. Firstly, because Walsh's testimony is the only example of a church-court investigation of witchcraft finding its way into print and secondly there are relatively few cunning folk that are the subject of pamphlets. [37] Additionally, Gibson argues, the pamphlet presents Walsh's as 'half educated, misled and yet powerful.' This she suggests was in keeping the with anti-catholic narrative of the introduction who were often represented as an analogous figure to that of Walsh.[38] Thus Walsh's pamphlet is particularly interesting for discovering popular attitudes to these cunning folk. The only other case would be that of Father Rosimond who is only a secondary player in the 1579 pamphlet *A Rehearsall Bothe Straung and True* which documents the trials of Elizabeth Stile, Mother Dutton, Mother Devell and Mother Margaret. Rosimond, and his daughter, are mentioned by Elizabeth Stile as a 'witches or inchanters'. He was also allegedly able to transform 'hymself by Divelishe meanes, into the shape and likenesse of any beaste' and is later described as taking on the shape of an ape or a horse. [39] However later in the pamphlet he is described as a 'Wiseman' by one Ostler of Windsore, who consulted Rosimond when he believed himself to be bewitched by Elizabeth Stile, Rosimond suggested he should to meet the witch and scratch her to draw blood in order to cure himself.[40] The wiseman's ability to heal is also confirmed by Stile herself who states that 'he can helpe any manne so bewitched to his health againe, as well as to bewitch'. Rosimond's insertion into Stile's narrative seems somewhat forced. Although she identifies him as a witch and asserts that he joined herself and the other witches to 'conclude upon hainous, and vilanous practises', she also acknowledges his

[36] Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh*, A5, A8v.
[37] Gibson, *Early Modern Witches,* p.25.
[38] Gibson, *Early Modern Witches,* p.25.
[39] Anon, *A Rehearsall both Straung and True,* A5, B.
[40] Anon, *A Rehearsall both Straung and True,* Bv.

healing abilities.[41] Further, other testimonies place Rosimond as healing *her* malevolent actions not once, but three times. In two of these cases this resulted in physical harm to her person. In the case of Ostler who, following Rosimond's advice, scratched and drew blood from Stiles. The second attack, documented in another publication, was perpetrated by Richard Galis, who was allegedly tormented by Stile. Galis had rather violently approached Rosimond, pulling him 'out of his house by his head and shoulders', Rosimond declared him to be bewitched by Stile and her cohorts Mother Dutton and Mother Devell.[42] Based on this, Galis then abducted Stile, binding her 'about her myddle' and 'forceably [he] pulled her out of the house, drawing her along the streate' to the magistrates.[43] Thus is it possible that Stile included Rosimond in her confession as some kind of revenge for his accusations against her? Additionally, it is interesting to note that he does not appear to have been charged on the basis of her accusations and whilst Stile and her three accomplices were executed Rosimond seemingly avoided punishment. However, it is possible to see through this brief mention of a wiseman that many had little compunction about employing their services when they felt it necessary. One might also imagine that should their popular reputation be that of routinely committing harm like a common witch, those such as Galis would be considerably more wary of physically assaulting them.

Legally and theologically however, cunning folk occupied a precarious position in early modern society. Henry VIII's witchcraft act of 1542 was specifically aimed at 'conjurac[i]ons & wichecraftes and sorcery and enchantments'. In particular it legislates against 'inovac[i]ons and conjurac[i]ons of sprites' especially for the aim of telling 'where thinges lost or stollen shulde be': the very thing that Walsh admits to summoning fairies

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41 Anon, *A Rehearsall both Straung and True,* Bv, A6v.
42 Richard Galis, *A brief treatise containing the most strange and horrible cruelty of Elizabeth Stile alias Rockingham and her confederates, executed at Abingdon, upon R. Galis,* (London, 1579), C3v.
43 Galis, *Elizabeth Stile,* C3v.

for.[44] The punishment for such actions was now death. Likewise, the 1563 witchcraft act introduced by Elizabeth I is primarily aimed at 'Conjurac[i]ons Inchantments and Witchecraftes' though it adds that those using 'invocac[i]ons and conjurac[i]ons of *evill and wicked* Spirities' for any purpose should be sentenced to death; however the use of 'Witchecraft Enchantement Charme or Sorcerie' for the finding of goods or stolen things whilst outlawed was punished by one year imprisonment for the first offence.[45] If this was the case then why does Walsh freely confess to summoning fairies for the purpose of finding stolen goods rather than using a ritual from the 'booke of circles' he professed to own?[46] Perhaps it has something to do with the wording of the Elizabethan act, in particular the focus on the conjuration of 'evill and wicked spirits'. There is no doubt that popular beliefs about the witches familiar spirit linked them directly to the demonic and Walsh must certainly have been aware of the danger he was in, as evidenced by his very vehement and specific initial denial that he 'had non about hym, neyther in any other place of this worlde, eyther above ground, or under the ground, eyther in any place secrete or open' when questioned about owning a familiar.[47] However fairies, like the cunning folk who summoned them, occupied a much more ambiguous position in early modern society. Though theologically they were inextricably demonic, popular belief held them in a more ambiguous regard. According to Emma Wilby, fairies spanned the spectrum of good and evil; some were completely malicious, others were completely benign, most however were considered 'morally ambiguous, capable of both virtue and malevolence'.[48] Ronald Hutton suggests that English fairy beliefs were considerably less hostile than most due to the medieval literary tradition of powerful and helpful fays. Such evidence of this affection, he

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[44] Witchcraft Act 1542, (33 Hen. VIII, c.8)
[45] Witchcraft Act 1563, (5 Eliz., c. 16)
[46] Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh*, A5v
[47] Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh*, A4v, A5.
[48] Emma Wilby, *Cunning Folk and Familiar Spirits: Shamanistic Visionary Traditions in Early Modern British Witchcraft and Magic,* (Portland, 2005), pp.19-20.

argues, can be seen in the portrayal of Elizabeth I as a fairy queen in Edmund Spencer's similarly titled *The Faerie Queene* or in other cases as a Queen blessed by fairy monarchs.[49] Diane Purkiss suggests that fairies were considered to be less intimidating and culpable than the devil, permitting them to represent for a less terrifying source of power for the cunning persons' clients.[50] This dichotomy of belief is reflected in Walsh's discussion of the kind of fairies in existence where he asserts that 'ther be iii. kindes of Feries, white, greene & blacke […] whereby […] the blacke Feries be the woorst'.[51] Further he states that the fairies 'doe hurt of their owne malignity, and not provoked by anye manne' nor do 'they have power upon no man'.[52] In this way he limited his responsibility should any person around him experience ill effects that could be attributed to his acquaintance with these fairies.

The ambiguous attitude towards fairies that typified English beliefs is also evidenced in the prominent theological and demonological publications of the period. The writers of these tracts often struggled to convincingly place fairies in the wider framework of the demonic world and many such as Henry Holland, Thomas Cooper and William Perkins almost completely ignored them whilst those that did discuss these spirits rarely agreed on their nature.[53] However, despite the popular, though wary, affection towards fairies they did undergo some changes in the learned hands of these writers. For example, the sceptic Reginald Scot attributed fairies, or 'bugs' as he termed them, to the preaching of Catholic superstition by papists.[54] This anti-Catholic vein is evident in Walsh's pamphlet

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[49] Ronald Hutton, 'Historiographical Review: The Making of the Early Modern British Fairy Tradition', *The Historical Journal,* 57, 4 (2014), 1151
[50] Diane Purkiss, *Troublesome Things: A History of Fairy Stories* (London, 2000), pp.126-7.
[51] Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh*, A5.
[52] Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh*, A6v
[53] Darren Oldridge, 'Fairies and the Devil in early modern England', *The Seventeenth Century,* 31, 1 (2016), 9.
[54] Reginald Scot, *The discouerie of Witchcraft vvherein the lewde dealing of witches and witchmongers is notablie detected,* (London, 1584) pp.154-155.

as an address to the reader that preceded the examination rails against a number of Popes who allegedly made covenants with the devil and practiced sorcery and witchcraft to gain their power, also asserting that this corruption is at all levels of the Catholic church. It is this papistry, the author argues, that has hurt the 'common weales' of the people, leading them into superstition and the clutches of the devil.[55] George Gifford follows this argument somewhat, asserting that whilst fairies, or 'puckrils', could be demons in disguise, it was more that the devil deluded people, through their superstitions, into believing that the cure for these spirits lay with cunning folk, which he argued were worse than malefic witches for they enticed people through falsities and superstitions.[56] However, James I in his *Daemonologie* toes the line between Scot and Gifford, suggesting that 'phairies' were the 'sortes of illusions that was rifest in the time of papistrie' but he concedes that they could also physically appear to people though such apperitions were more likely to be the devil or demons in disguise, creating a 'vision … wherein he commonly counterfeits God' to 'seeme to be a better sort of folks'.[57] Thus, to learned writers fairies were considered, to an extent, to be demonic in origin. However, their arguments provide an unconvincing and confused narrative that, as Darren Oldridge argues, suggests that fairies did not relate to any major theological concerns and rather the belief in fairies was demonised rather than the fairies themselves.[58]

The relationship between cunning folk and fairies does, however, have a long folkloric tradition. Fairies were often cited as one of the main sources for the abilities cunning folk possessed such as healing, detecting bewitchment and finding stolen goods.[59] There is also copious evidence of fairy belief in church court records as well as at assize

[55] Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh,* A2, A2v, A3, A3v.
[56] Gifford, *Dialogue,* B, Br, Br.v
[57] James I, *Daemonologie,* pp.57-9.
[58] Oldridge, 'Fairies and the Devil', 6, 9.
[59] Hutton, 'British Fairy Tradition' 1145, 1149.

trials. For example in 1607 Susan Swapper of Rye in Sussex was brought before the assizes and charged with witchcraft and entertaining 'evill and wicked spirites' under the 1604 witchcraft act.[60] In her examination Susan told of how she was visited by four spirits in the likeness of two men and two women whom she described as fairies due to their traditional green and white attire.[61]Although they were disturbing apparitions who threatened to 'carry her away' they also provided a cure for her lingering sickness, directing her to go to her neighbour Anne Taylor, who was incidentally a cunning woman, and 'digge and set sage and then [she] should be well'.[62] The following day the two women did as bid and began digging in Taylor's garden, though not setting sage but apparently searching for treasure which they unfortunately failed to find. Susan seemingly 'troubled with treasure' continued the search the following Whitsun after being told by the visiting spirits the location of a pot of gold. During her search, which once more proved unfruitful, Susan allegedly met the queen of the fairies who offered to 'give her a living' if she would kneel to her.[63] Susan however refused and returned home very troubled and sick. In another case, John Webster writing in 1677 related an account of a man apprehended on suspicion of witchcraft who was believed to be a white witch known around the area for healing the sick and injured.[64] The man alleged that his healing powers came from a white powder that he 'received from the fairies'.[65] Like the case of Susan Swapper, this man was approached by a woman who offered to 'get him a good living' unlike Swapper however, he consented 'with all his heart'.[66] He then goes onto describe how he was afterwards taken to hill whereby 'he

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60 Witchcraft Act 1604 (1 Jas. I, c. 12)
61 Annabel Gregory, 'Witchcraft, Politics and "Good Neighbours" in Early Seventeenth-Century Rye', *Past & Present,* 133 (1991), 36.
62 Gregory, 'Witchcraft, Politics', 36.
63 Gregory, 'Witchcraft, Politics', 36.
64 John Webster, *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft: Wherein is Affirmed that There are Many Sorts of Deceivers and Impostors, and Divers Persons Under a Passive Delusion of Melancholy and Fancy,* (London, 1677), p.300.
65 Webster, *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft,* pp.300-301.
66 Webster, *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft,* pp.300-301

knocked three times' upon which the hill opened and he entered into a 'fair hall wherein was a Queen'. It was this queen who provided him with the white powder that brought about his fame in healing. The judge dismissed the man as delusional or an imposter; however Webster, a firm believer in the supernatural, argued for the reality of this man's interaction with the fairies, or spirits as he termed them, and judged that on account of the healing good that this man had done these spirits could not rationally be evil in origin.[67] In both cases, the fairies offered no real harm, and in the case of Susan Swapper they provided her with a possible cure for her sickness and, reminding us of Walsh's testimony concerning their abilities, provided her with a location of buried treasure. In Webster's tale they required no compact, directly at least, in return for the healing powder they supplied and through this offered a man a way to remove himself from the crushing poverty he and his family experienced.

Despite these cases, Walsh's pamphlet is the only dedicated witchcraft pamphlet that discusses fairies. There are however other published pamphlets that tell of fantastical encounters with fairies such as the 1695 tale of Anne Jeffries, a Cornish cunning woman who claimed she had gained her healing abilities from the fairies who often visited her. The pamphlet, unlike Walsh's, does not tar Jeffries' powers with an inherently demonic brush; instead the author describes her actions as 'strange and wonderful'.[68] Thus, the isolated nature of Walsh's fairy confession in a witchcraft setting might therefore suggest that popular belief followed a considerably less hostile approach and as such was not deemed t to be controversial enough for pamphleteers to include in their works. Furthermore,

[67] Webster, *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, pp.301-302.
[68] Moses Pitt, *An Account of one Anne Jeffries, now living in the county of Cornwall, who was fed for six months by a small sort of airy people call'd fairies, and of the strange and wonderful cures she performed with slaves and medicines she received from them,* (London, 1696).

English judiciaries were seemingly much more focused on the familiar spirit as a source of diabolic witchcraft.

The focus placed on familiar spirits by judges, examiners and theologians is very much evident in Walsh's pamphlet. Indeed, the documentary nature of the pamphlet provides an insight into this fixation that is perhaps not seen in the other pamphlets selected for this investigation. As noted above, when initially questioned about owning a familiar spirit, Walsh was very specific and vehement in his denial. He then went on to provide an alternative explanation for the source of his abilities in his admission of employing fairies; as suggested, the dichotic nature of English fairy beliefs may have led Walsh to believe it safer to admit to this rather than to something irrefutably demonic. However, this is undermined by the fact that during his explanation of fairies he states that he is able to use his master's book of circles to 'raise the familiar spirite. Of whom he woulde then aske for anything stolen' thus contradicting his earlier assertion that he had no familiar.[69] The question is, of course, why would he admit to this; was it a slip up born from panic? Did he get carried away in his explanation and make a mistake? Was he coerced? Or did the scribe misinterpret his words? The latter seems unlikely as Walsh later expands upon the summoning ritual explaining in great detail the procedure for forcing the spirit to do his bidding.[70] It is also quite impossible to tell how much duress he was placed under in his confession so the idea of coercion, whilst certainly feasible, lacks provability. Whatever the reason for his admission, it seems that the examiner quickly latched onto it and once more 'demaunded whether he had euer any familiar or no'.[71] Walsh's subsequent answer is interesting for, like much of his confession, its uniqueness. Firstly, he admits to owning a familiar belonging to his master. This in itself is not particularly unusual as

[69] Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh*, A5.
[70] Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh*, A6.
[71] Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh*, A5.

demonic spirits were often passed between supposed witches or inherited either from a master or relative. Neither is the admission that since his arrest and subsequent confiscation of his book of circles he could no longer have 'the use thereof' and 'hys familiar dyd then depart from him'.[72] Spirits abandoning their witch is a common component of witchcraft narratives. For example; Joan Prentice confessed in 1589 that she had sent her familiar ferret Bidd to the house of Maister Glascocke to 'nippe one of his children a little […] but hurt it not'. The familiar did as was ordered but reported that it had 'nipt Sara Glascocke, and that she should dye thereof'.[73] Upon hearing this Prentice chastised her familiar declaring 'thou villiane what has thou doon, I bid thee […] not to hurt it'. Her familiar then suddenly vanished and never came back to her. [74] Likewise, John Palmer's apprentice, Elizabeth Knott was stated to have been swum in 1645 and when she was 'cast upon the water her familiar sucked upon her breast, but after she came out of the water she never saw it anymore'.[75]

However, it is Walsh's description of his familiar that is particularly interesting. He describes his spirit appearing to him in three forms: a grey-blackish Culver, a brended (brindled) dog, and a man with cloven feet.[76] The second and third forms are not unusual and appear frequently during interrogations and confessions. The dog familiar is the most common form of all, indeed of the men selected for study in this chapter, two, James Device and John Palmer, both had canine familiars, James' mother also had a 'browne dogge' named Ball as her familiar.[77] The humanoid figure also appears with some regularity in witch trials. In the Pendle trials, where James Device was tried, Anne Chattox stated that

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72 Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh*, A5v.
73 Anon, *The Apprehension and confession of three notorious Witches,* (London, 1589), B2
74 Anon, *The Apprehension and confession,* B2-B2v.
75 Anon, *The Divels Delusions or A faithfull relation of John Palmer and Elizabeth Knott two notorious witches lately condemned at the sessions of Oyer and Terminer in St. Albans,* (London, 1649), A4.
76 Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh*, A5v.
77 Potts, *Wonderful Discovery,* H3, H3v, F4; Anon*, The Divels Delusions,* A3.

'a thing like a Christian man' came to her and asked her to give his soul to him, whilst John Palmer had a second familiar spirit in 'the likenesse of a woman called *Jezabell*'.[78] Likewise, the attribute of cloven feet is also a common reoccurrence in familiar spirit descriptions with witches such as Joan Wallis in 1645 telling of meeting such a figure.[79] However, the form which Walsh's familiar allegedly took, that of a 'gray blackish Culver' is unique and the symbolism of such a form is particularly interesting.[80] According to the OED, a Culver is the middle-English term for a dove. The dove does of course have great importance in Christian theology with a white dove serving as a physical representation of the Holy Ghost. Thus, Walsh's possession of a black dove suggests a demonic inversion of this Christian symbol. Such a description is unlikely to be accidental or devoid of meaning, particularly considering the accusations levelled at him. Further, the symbolism of the white dove would have been well known at all levels of society during the Tudor period as it was a tradition to fly such a creature through the church every Whitsun.[81] The refutation of a coincidental inversion of this symbology is also backed up by his familiar's humanoid form with cloven feet. As mentioned, the image of a creature with cloven feet is a common theme in early modern familiar belief and is inextricably linked to the demonic for the devil was regularly depicted as sporting cloven hooves and goat horns, thus readers of Walsh's pamphlet would be left in no doubt as to the demonic origin of his spirit. Rosen argues that such imperfections are traditional marks of anything created by the Devil when trying to imitate God.[82] Therefore, the black dove owned by Walsh could be seen as an example of this inability of the Devil to truly imitate such a Holy creature. This bastardization of God's creations can also be seen in other witchcraft pamphlets. For example; John

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[78] Potts, *Wonderful Discovery,* D3; Anon*, The Divels Delusions,* A3.
[79] Stearne, *Confirmation and Discovery,* C2.
[80] Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh,* A5v.
[81] Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700,* (Oxford, 1994), p.36.
[82] Rosen, *Witchcraft in England*, p.18.

Winnick, one of the Huntingdon witches tried in 1646, possessed a familiar that was the size of a coney but 'blacke and shaggy, and having pawes like a bear'.[83] Cysley Selles, who was accused with her husband Henry, allegedly owned two familiars one of which was described by their nine year old son as looking 'like his sister but that it was al blacke' and that 'their eyes be like unto goose eyes'.[84] Agnes Waterhouse's familiar was instead in the form of a 'black dogge with a face like an ape'.[85] Furthermore the colour black also frequently features in descriptions of demonic familiars throughout the witchcraft pamphlets published through the period. As you can see in the examples above, John Winnick, Henry and Cyseley Selles and Agnes Waterhouse all owned blacke spirits. James Device's familiar Dandy was also in the shape of a black dog, whilst Mother Devell, mentioned in the Elizabeth Stiles pamphlet owned a familiar in the shape of a Black Cat.[86] In another pamphlet published in 1589 one Joan Cunny meanwhile possessed two 'black frogges' whilst in 1619 Margaret Flower confessed to having two spirits one of which was a 'black spotted' thing.[87] With this relationship between the imperfect nature of diabolic creations and their colourings it is therefore evident that Walsh's 'gray blackish culver' is a demonic inversion of the Christian symbol of the Holy Spirit. The question however becomes why did he confess to such an obvious and symbolically laden creature? The overtly demonic and heavily symbolic nature of his familiar seems at odds with his prior denial of ever owning such a thing and his later assertion that he had never done any hurt to anyone or anything. Perhaps such a confession can be seen as evidence of the influence of the questioner and the court in which he found himself? Walsh's case is certainly the

[83] John Davenport, *The witches of Huntingdon, their examinations and confessions,* (London 1646), A4.
[84] W.W. *A True and Just Recorde, of the Information, Examination and Confession of all the Witches, taken at S. Oses in the countie of Essex,* (London 1582), D, Dv.
[85] John Phillips, *The Examination and Confession of certain Wytches and Chensforde in the Countie of Essex,* (London, 1566) A24v.
[86] Anon, *A Rehearsall both Straung and True,* A5v; Potts, *Wonderful Discovery,* H3v.
[87] Anon, *Apprehension and confession*, A3; Anon, *The Wonderful Discovery of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower, daughters of Joan Flower neere Bever Castle,* (London, 1619), G.

only published example of a church court interrogation and given the nature of this setting one might be able to tentatively suggest the possibility of manipulation or coercion on the part of the questioner to fit Walsh's powers into the dominant doctrine of the church.

Familiar spirits in animal form and viewed as pets, are a peculiarly English phenomenon in early modern witchcraft beliefs and appear to be an integral part of learned and popular belief systems. Certainly their appearance in the very first published trial pamphlets of Agnes Waterhouse and John Walsh in 1566 suggests, as James Sharpe argues, that such beliefs were well established in the minds of the populace by this point.[88] Furthermore, that they are present in these two early pamphlets concerning both a female and a male suspected witch suggests that ordinary people believed that both men and women could accept the assistance of demonic spirits. The easy acceptance of equality between male and female in this sphere is also represented throughout the witchcraft pamphlets published across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the cases of our male witches for example, nine of the eleven men are either alleged to possess, or confess to possessing, familiar spirits. When examining their testimonies, or that of the authors of each pamphlet, the remarkable cohesion in belief that permeates them is particularly interesting and once more suggests the presence of a well-established and developed belief. The foundation of this belief in familiar spirits, and indeed witchcraft belief as a whole, is one that is also prevalent in theological and demonological texts: that of the demonic compact or covenant. This idea of a well-established idea of the familiar spirit and the use of blood to enter into a demonic pact is also evident in earlier trial records such as the case of one John Steward from Knaresbrough who was declared by, the chaplain of Addingham, Henry Banke, to have kept 'three humble bees or like humble bees' under a

[88] Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.71.

stone and 'called them out one by one, and gave each one of them a drop of blood from his finger.'[89] This use of blood in feeding familiar spirits is also evident in our pamphlets.

Starting with Walsh once more, we can see evidence of this through his confession that the first time he interacted with his spirit he had to 'deliver him one drop of his blud' which 'the Spirite did take away upon his paw'.[90] The giving of blood as a form of creating, or sealing, a covenant is common and is repeated by John Winnick in 1646 who related how his bear spirit told him that he must take some of his blood in order to seal the covenant and afterwards 'leapt upon his shoulder, and prickt him upon the head and thence took blood' and again in 1649 by John Palmer who stated that the 'Divel […] drew his bloud and caused him to write his mark upon the ground'.[91] However, giving the devil or demonic spirit blood was not the only way to seal a demonic pact. One might instead promise one's soul, such as in the case of James Device who, during his confession, stated that his familiar 'Dandie' asked him upon their first meeting to give him his soul. Device replied that his soul was 'not his to give' as it belonged to Jesus Christ but that he would give the spirit 'as much was in him […] to give'. This offering seemed to be sufficient to seal the deal nevertheless his familiar never gave up trying 'earnestly' to persuade James to give his soul up completely.[92] The giving of one's soul as part of creating a pact was the main feature of the pamphlet produced on the commission of the trial judges by the court clerk Thomas Potts in which James Device featured along with the other accused witches such as Anne Chattox and Elizabeth Sowtherns, James's grandmother, both confessing to promising their soul to the devil.[93] The practice was also not limited to this specific pamphlet and was for example present in a 1582 pamphlet in

[89] Ewen II, p.73.
[90] Anon, *Examination of John Walsh,* A6.
[91] Davenport, *Witches of Huntingdon*, A4v; Anon, *The Divels Delusions*, A3v.
[92] Potts, *Wonderful Discovery,* H3v, K.
[93] Gibson, *Reading Witchcraft,* p.1; Potts, *Wonderful Discovery,* B2v, D3.

which Joan Cunny promised her soul to her two spirits and later in 1619 Margaret and Phillip Flower also confessed to promising their souls to the devil.[94] In all these cases the giving of the soul sealed the compact and a blood offering was not mentioned, yet in some cases the providing of both blood and the soul were part of an explicit pact such as in the case of John Winnick who we have already seen allowed his blood to be taken by his spirit. Prior to this exchange however, Winnick had confessed that he had yielded his soul to his spirit upon his death.[95]

Sex, Sin and Demonic Fornication

There is however a further component to the demonic covenant that provides a particularly interesting insight into popular beliefs. Up until this point, the particulars of entering into a compact with the devil have been devoid of gendered divisions in both behaviour and procedure; male and female witches alike freely gave their blood, soul, or both, in the sealing of said compact. Yet in witchcraft pamphlets there is one thing that stands out as being one of the more significant evidences of gendered beliefs surrounding male and female witches' behaviour and traits. This divisive subject is that of engaging in a sexual relationship with the devil or familiar spirits. The relationship between witchcraft and sexuality is a subject that has largely been ignored by English scholars. Indeed, English witchcraft has been viewed as primarily asexual in nature with MacFarlane stating that 'there did not seem to be any marked sexual element' in witch trial records, a view that Thomas concurred with. Though he pointed out the sexual aspects present in the Hopkins trials, he also dismissed them as an 'uncommon feature'.[96] More recent work by James Sharpe however has suggested that there is evidence of a sexual dimension between the witch and their familiar or the devil due to the fact that teats were often found in the

[94] Anon, *Apprehension and confession,* A3; Anon, *Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower,* B3.
[95] Davenport, *Witches of Huntingdon,* A4v.
[96] MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.10; and Thomas, *Decline,* p.568.

genital area of the witch.[97] Sharpe's observation has been expanded upon by Millar whose analysis of seventeenth century witchcraft pamphlets has asserted that there was a well-established idea regarding the sexual element of witchcraft beliefs, not just in the explicit carnal relations typified by Hopkin's interrogations but also through examples of non-penetrative acts such as cunnilingus and analingus.[98] There is certainly evidence of this sexual component present in the pamphlets considered for this chapter. However, a key point is that such sexual behaviour is limited exclusively to the female accused. The most explicit examples are those of Elizabeth Weed and Joan Wallis who are named in the 1646 pamphlet *The Witches of Huntingdon* which also includes the male witch John Winnick. Elizabeth confessed that the devil in the shape of a young man 'came to her bed, and had the carnall knowledge of her'.[99] Likewise, Joan confessed that the devil had 'the use of her body once, twice, and sometimes thrice a week'. The difference between Elizabeth and Joan is that the humanoid demon that fornicated with Joan was also one of her familiars, named Blackeman.[100] The year prior to that in a pamphlet that detailed the trial of eighteen witches in Suffolk, including John Lowes and Thomas Everard, told of how there were 120 more witches in prison at Bury St. Edmunds some of whom confessed to having 'carnall copulation with the Devill'.[101]

Some historians however suggest that the suckling of familiars, a common narrative in early modern pamphlets, is indicative of sexualised behaviour. For example, Malcolm Gaskill argues that the case of John Bysack, named in John Sterne's treatise, who was said to have suckled his six snail familiars at his breast 'like a nursing mother' indicated

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97 Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England,* p.64.
98 Charlotte-Rose Millar, 'Sleeping with Devils: The Sexual Witch in Seventeenth-century England' in Marcus Harmes and Victoria Bladen (eds.) *Supernatural and Secular Power in Early Modern England*, (Surrey, 2015), pp.207-231.
99 Davenport, *Witches of Huntingdon,* A3v.
100 Davenport, *Witches of Huntingdon*, C.
101 Anon, *A True Relation of the Arraignment of Eighteene Witches that were tried, convicted and condemned, at a sessions holden at St. Edmunds-bury in Suffolke,* (London, 1645), p.5.

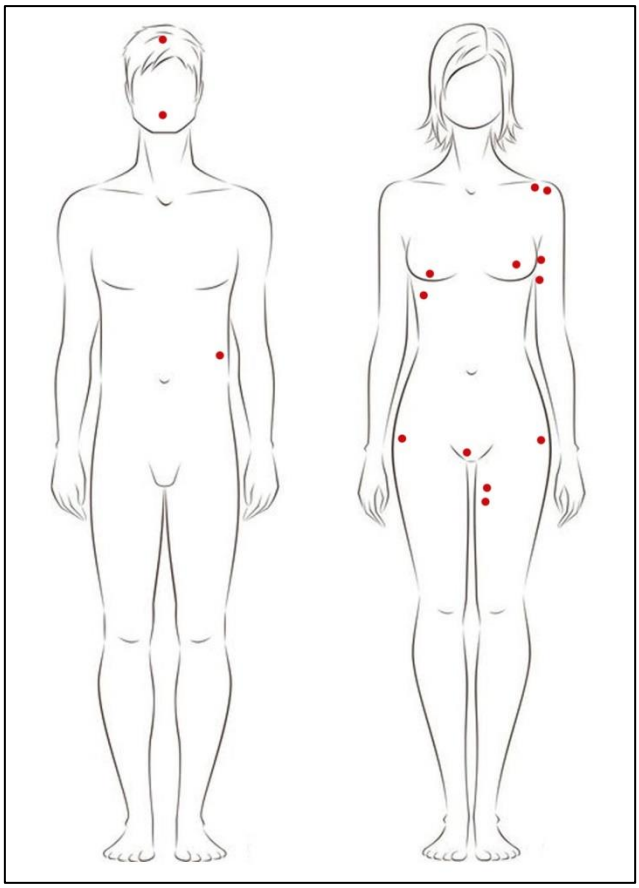

Fig 2.2*: Location of Teats found on Male and Female Witches*

a 'dubious sexuality' that only stopped short of homosexual acts because they were not a private fantasy of the accused.[102] Though it may be argued that such actions are sexualised, I disagree with Gaskill's assertions. Instead it seems that Bysack's suckling, akin, to a nursing mother as Gaskill put it, is not sexual but intimate in a curiously maternal way. This view is also voiced by Millar who suggests, using Bysack as an example, that witches became attached to their familiars in maternal or familial ways, such relationships might be intimate yet not necessarily sexual.[103] Furthermore, Sterne's description of Bysack's activities lends more support to the view that his familial suckling was devoid of sexual conotations. There is in Stearne's account of Bysack's confession a complete lack of sexual language or implication present where one would assume there might be should 'dubious sexuality' or even sexual deviance be confessed to or suspected. In the same vein I would also argue that the location of the teats on our male witches also suggesed a lack of sexualization in their feeding of familiars.

[102] Malcolm Gaskill, 'Masculinity and Witchcraft', p.177; Sterne, *Confirmation and Discovery,* p.41.
[103] Charlotte-Rose Millar, 'Familiars' in Susan Broomhall (ed.) *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction,* (Oxford, 2017).

As can be seen in *fig 2.2* above, the location of the teats on the female witch are located in much more sexual areas than her male counterpart.[104] In all the pamphlets examined for this chapter there has been no example of a male witch possessing a teat in any sexual location. In comparison the female witches regularly were found to have, and confessed to having, teats located on or very near, their breasts, vagina or anus. Further, *Fig 2.2* shows another interesting trend: women were much more likely to have teats than men. A survey of the 8 contemporary pamphlets referring to the witches listed on page 61, shows that there were 57 women mentioned and 11 men. Of these 57 women, 35 or 61% were believed to possess a familiar, the rate of familiar possession for the men accused was actually higher standing at 81% or 9 of the 11. However, when it comes to having teats located on the body we begin to see a considerable difference; 30 of the 35 women (89%) were found to have teats on their body compared to 3 out of the 9 men (33%). Although the sample size is relatively small, such figures suggest that writers of popular pamphlets, and indeed those involved in the criminal proceedings, were more concerned with uncovering female sexual deviance than male. Moreover, lustful nature, sexual deviance and inability to control one's desire was seen as a primarily female trait that required strict control through religious and social means. Thus, the inability of the accused to control their desires and the sexual pleasure seemingly experienced through these illicit, demonic interactions can perhaps be seen as further evidence of their failure to conform to societal ideals of the godly woman. Another factor to consider in this assertion that the sexual deviancy of male witches feeding familiar was of little concern to witch-hunters and popular writers is that fact that the first recorded case of a male witch being found to have a teat appeared very late, in 1645. The idea of the witch's teat or mark had been present in

[104] There are some trial records that show male witches to have teats found around their anal area such as Robert Ellis and Adam Sabie who were part of the Ely trials; EDR E12 1647/17, EDR, E12 1647/15, 18, 23. It is perhaps significant that these two men were part of the witch-hunt conducted by John Stearne in which some semblance of torture was administrated to those accused and would account for this anomaly.

popular pamphlets since the beginning in 1566 and after 1604 had become increasingly linked to genital or intimate areas in female witches. Furthermore, that the male witches in 1645 who were found to have teats were all part of the epidemic of witch-hunting instigated by Matthew Hopkins and John Sterne suggest that it might well have been a case of boundaries being broken down due to panic and outside influence.

The question remains however as to why men were seemingly exempt from the sexual aspect of popular beliefs surrounding witches' interactions with the devil. The exemption appears complete, excluding both heterosexual and homosexual fornication and is something that also appears to be peculiarly English. Continental witchcraft beliefs provide evidence of diabolic sexual intercourse amongst male witches such as the case of Johannes Junius of Bamberg who, in 1628, confessed to being seduced by a demon in the guise of a young woman.[105] This tradition of female demons, or succubi, had long been established in continental belief. For example, Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola commented on the case of two sorcerers who had engaged in long-term relationships with female demons.[106] Though the direct evidence of Johannes Junius was not published in contemporary popular literature, rather coming from trial records of the period, it nevertheless provides an example of male diabolic sexual relations that I have yet to find in both the English pamphlets and trial records. It could perhaps be suggested that amongst our pamphlet witches the case of John Palmer might come closest to representing the idea of a heterosexual demonic relationship. His possession of a female humanoid familiar named 'Jezabell' is certainly suggestive of such beliefs. The significance of the name, and its association with immorality and promiscuity, would have been well known to early modern inhabitants. Yet although the foundations of such beliefs are present, the

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105 'The Confessions of Johannes Junius at Bamberg, 1628' in Brian P. Levack (ed.) *The Witchcraft Sourcebook,* (London, 2004), pp.198-202.
106 Apps and Gow, *Male Witches,* p.144, f43.

pamphlet makes no mention of any sexual relationship or activity between the witch and his familiar.[107] Furthermore, the sexual narrative is also missing from the English demonological texts. Of the texts examined in the previous chapter only two make any mention of incubi or succubi, the first is James I *Daemonologie* which mentions the sexual demons, however they are not related in any way to male witchcraft; instead the succubi was said to steal sperm from corpses.[108] Second is in the sceptical work of Thomas Ady who, writing in 1671 asks 'Where do we finde any such thing in Scriptures, or any such description of a Witch, or that a Witch was such a one as hath made a League with the Devil […] or that lyeth with *Incubus*, or *Succubus*, or any such phrase or expression in all the Scriptures? […] O foolish *England*, who hath bewitched you'.[109] None of the treaties makes any mention of sodomy or a homosexual aspect to a male witch's covenant or relationship with the devil.

The crime of sodomy has however, perhaps erroneously, been linked to witchcraft accusations. Mark Brietenberg whilst discussing masculinity in early modern England for example argues that charges of sodomy were 'often attached to more "secure" forms of otherness, like Catholicism, witchcraft or treason'.[110] Yet in England it is difficult to find any evidence suggesting this link between sodomy and witchcraft. On the continent the situation was relatively similar. The most important witchcraft treatise published, the *Malleus Maleficarium,* explicitly refutes the link between sodomy and witchcraft stating that:

> It should be especially noted that although Scripture speaks of women plagued by incubi and succubi, nowhere does it say that when they made themselves incubi and succubi demons, they committed wrong in connection with any vices that are contrary to nature. This refers not only to the vice of sodomy but to any other vice outside of the proper receptacle. This shows the huge enormity of such

[107] Anon, *The Divels Delusions.*
[108] James I, *Daemonologie,* L, 2.
[109] Ady, *Candle in the Dark,* N3.
[110] Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England,* (Cambridge, 1996), p.59.

> sinful acts, since without distinction all demons of any rank shun the commission of them and consider it shameful.[111]

Krämer was echoing Johannes Nider in these sentiments who, in 1475, published his witchcraft tract *Formicarius* within which he asserted that due to the angelic nobility of their origins, demons were physically unable to incite men into the sin of sodomy.[112] However, it is worth noting that Gianfrancesco Pico Della Mirandola, mentioned above published a demonological tract in 1523 entitled *Strix* wherein he suggests that male witches in the province of Mirandola who were tried and executed in the previous years had engaged in homosexual relationships with the devil and/or demons. It is also worth noting that he asserts that the female witches accused also participated in sodomitical acts with demons.[113] Nevertheless, Mirandola is alone in his assertions of demons engaging in sodomy and homosexual relations with male witches, though others did suggest, such as Pierre de Lancre that female witches may have engaged in sodomy with the Devil during the Sabbath.[114] Furthermore, William Monter shows that in the Jura region a number of men who were accused of witchcraft were also accused of 'grave sexual crimes' including sodomy. However, as Apps and Gow argue, such cases do not necessarily mean that contemporaries believed male witches and homosexual acts to be linked; instead it could on the contrary indicate that sodomites also practiced witchcraft.[115]

A particularly interesting case in this discussion of the link between sodomy and witchcraft, that bears mentioning, is that of the royal favourite George Villiers the Duke of Buckingham. The son of a minor gentleman, Villiers entered the court of James I at the age of twenty-one in 1614. His appointment to the position of royal Cup-Bearer was

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111 Mackay, *The Hammer of the Witches,* p.136.
112 Tamar Herzog, 'The Demons' Reaction to Sodomy: Witchcraft and Homosexuality in Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola's "Strix"', *Sixteenth Century Journal,* 34:1 (2003), 56
113 Herzog, 'The Demons' Reaction to Sodomy', 67, 71-72.
114 Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* p.48.
115 E. William Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland: The Borderlands,* (New York, 1976), pp.135-36; Apps and Gow, *Male Witches,* p.144 f.42.

sponsored by political opponents of the King's current favourite, Robert Carr, the Earl of Somerset. In this position, Villiers soon caught the attention of James who was allegedly susceptible to the charms of good-looking young men. Under his patronage, Villiers quickly rose through the ranks of the nobility. In 1615, despite Somerset's objections Villiers was appointed as a gentleman of the bedchamber and knighted by James.[116] It was also during this period that Somerset began to fall out of favour. Early in 1616, Somerset and his wife were found guilty of murdering one Sir Thomas Overbury. Though James spared their lives, they were henceforth imprisoned in the tower of London.[117]

Somerset's removal from court-life and, most importantly, from James' favour, opened the way for Villier to take his place. Shortly after Somerset's demise, James made Villier 'master of the horse', a prestigious position that had been coveted by Somerset. Just a few months later in July of that year, Villiers was appointed to the exclusive 'Order of the Garter.' The following month, the day before his twenty-fourth birthday, James anointed his new favourite Baron Whaddon of Whaddon and Viscount Villiers. His meteoric rise through the English nobility did not stop here. As a customary new year's gift, on 6 Jan 1617, James once more elevated Villiers position, bestowing upon him the Earldom of Buckingham, the following year he became the Marquess of Buckingham.[118]

The relationship between Villiers, or Buckingham as he was now known, and James has garnered much attention from historians due to its apparent sexual nature. In his book *King James and the History of Homosexuality*, Michael Young states how James was openly affectionate to Buckingham, often publicly declaring that he loved him 'deerly' and

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116 Lockyer, Roger. 2011 "Villiers, George, first duke of Buckingham (1592–1628), royal favourite." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 20 Mar. 2019. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28293.

117 Ronald H. Fritze and William B. Robinson (eds.), *Historical Dictionary of Stuart England,* (Westport, 1996), p.72.

118 Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628,* (London, 1981), p.32.

that he had 'never one loved another moore than I doe thee.'[119] There are disagreements about when exactly their relationship became physically intimate and to what extent. However, it was nevertheless apparent from letters to each other that James and Buckingham engaged in some kind of homosexual relationship. Benjamin Woolley for example, suggests that it was in 1616 during the annual royal progress, at a stopover in Farnham Castle, that the two consummated their relationship, citing a later letter to James from Buckingham in which he recalled 'the time which I shall never forget at Farnham, where the bed's head could not be found between the master and his dog.'[120] Further evidence of their relationship comes in the form of later letters between Buckingham and James during his trip to Spain in 1623. In one such communication Buckingham described himself as a man who 'threatens you, that when he once gets hold your bedpost again, never to quit it.' In another short missive he declared that his 'thoughts are only bent of having my dear Dad and master's legs soon in my arms.'[121] Young goes on to suggest that it was entirely possible that 'bedpost' was euphemistic for penis in this context.[122]

Why is James and Buckingham's relationship pertinent to this discussion of sodomy and witchcraft? In 1622, Buckingham became acquainted with the infamous witch and cunning-man Dr. John Lambe, when he accompanied his mother to a consultation regarding his brother John's insanity, which they believed to be caused by sorcery. Following this meeting, Buckingham soon became Lambe's patron, stepping in, for example, in 1623 to quash Lambe's conviction for the rape of an eleven-year old girl. Gaskill suggests that Buckingham's relationship with Lambe solidified in the aftermath of the scandal surrounding Lady Purbeck, Buckingham's sister, and her alleged affair with Sir

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[119] Michael Young, *King James and the History of Homosexuality,* (London, 1999), p.44.
[120] Benjamin Woolley, *The King's Assassin: The Fatal Affair of George Villiers and James I,* (London, 2017), p.47.
[121] Young, *King James,* pp.46-7.
[122] Young, *King James,* p.48,

Thomas Howard and the resultant bastard child.[123] Buckingham's patronage and regard for Lambe quickly became well known and Lambe subsequently became the symbol of the Duke, particularly as Buckingham's reputation began to sour following his disastrous expedition in Spain.[124] For example, in June 1626 Charles I dissolved parliament in retaliation for their attempt to impeach Buckingham. Just before this however, there was a 'terrible storm and strange spectacle upon the Thames by the turbulancy of the waters, and a mist arose out of the same' and 'bent itself towards York House', George's Thames-side residence.[125] Rumours spread that it was 'Buckingham's wizard' who was responsible for such strange weather.[126]

The attempt at impeachment, that came after Lambe's alleged sorcery and caused Charles to dissolve parliament, was based on the suspicion that Buckingham had poisoned James the previous year. Rumours about foul play in James's death had begun to spread shortly after his demise. It was alleged that Buckingham had provided the King with a 'posset and a plaster', against the advice of Royal Physicians, which James complained made him 'burn and roast.'[127] These suspicions were exacerbated by the publication of a pamphlet entitled *The forerunner of reuenge Vpon the Duke of Buckingham, for the poysoning of the most potent King Iames of happy memory King of great Britan, and the Lord Marquis of Hamilton and others of the nobilitie* written by one George Eglisham, a self-styled 'Doctoris Medici Regis' and published in early 1626.[128] In his publication Eglisham alleged that Buckingham had poisoned the Marquess of Hamilton after Hamilton had reluctantly allowed his eldest son

123 Malcolm Gaskill, "Witchcraft, Politics, and Memory in Seventeenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal,* 50:2 (2007), 293-4.
124 Gaskill, 'Witchcraft, Politics, and Memory', 294
125 Gaskill, 'Witchcraft, Politics, and Memory', 294; Woolley, *The King's Assassin,* p.278.
126 Gaskill, 'Witchcraft, Politics, and Memory', 294.
127 Woolley, *The King's Assassin,* pp.246, 204.
128 George Eglisham, *The forerunner of reuenge Vpon the Duke of Buckingham, for the poysoning of the most potent King Iames of happy memory King of great Britan, and the Lord Marquis of Hamilton and others of the nobilitie*, (London, 1626), accessed via EEBO

to marry Buckingham's ten year old niece with the intention to find a way to annul the marriage before the girl was nubile. Buckingham then contrived to make such an action impossible by imploring Charles to make Hamilton's son a sworn gentleman, thus confining him to court and unable to travel overseas as his father had planned.[129] When the time came for the two to consummate the marriage, Hamilton refused to allow it, which resulted in Buckingham essentially kidnapping the groom.[130] An argument resulted in which Buckingham accused Hamilton of 'speaking disdainefully of him and his house' due to his scorn for 'the notion of matching with my house, which I made unto you' and 'threatened to be reuenged.'[131] Hamilton apparently took Buckingham's mutterings of revenge seriously and immediately took precautions, refusing to eat any meals unless tasted by two servants beforehand as Buckingham had a wide network of allies and associates who could aid his revenge plans.[132] His precaution to no avail however, as in late February 1626, two of Hamilton's servants fell sick and died, exhibiting 'manifest signes and symptomes of poyson', one of whom worked in his wine cellar and the other in the kitchen.[133] Two days later Hamilton also fell ill and died. Eglisham was the physician called to Hamilton's bedside and he determined that it was clear that he had been poisoned, observing that after his death Hamilton's body 'begoud to swell' until:

> his thighes vvere as big as six tymes there naturall proportion, his belly became as big as the belly of an oxe, his armes as big as the naturall quantitie of his thighes, his necke so broad as his shoulders, his cheekes ouer the tope of his nose, that his nose could not be seene or distinguished, the skinne of his forehead ouer his eyes, and the same skinne, […] his haire of his beard, eyebrovves, and head, so farre distant one from an other, as if an hundreth had beene taken out betwixt euery one, and when one did toutch his haire it came avvay with the skin as easily as if one had pulled hay out of an heape of hay. He Was all ouer his breast, necke, shoulders, and armes, blistered with blisters so big as ones fist, […] of six diuers colours full of vvaters of the same coulours, some white, some blacke, some red,

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129 Eglishman, *The forerunner of reuenge,* B2v-B3.
130 Woolley, *The King's Assassin,* p.260.
131 Eglishman, *The forerunner of reuenge,* B3.
132 Woolley, *The King's Assassin,* p.261.
133 Eglishman, *The forerunner of reuenge,* B3v.

> some yeallovv, some greene, some blevv, […] his mouth and nose foming blood mixt with froth of diuers coulors[134]

Needless to say, Eglisham's description of Hamilton's corpse does sound suspicious. He also confirms that other 'physitians and chiurgians […] thinke that he is poysoned.'[135] The final nail in the coffin to confirm Eglisham's suspicions against Buckingham was his behaviour when Hamilton's body was transported from Whitehall to his home. Eglisham observed that Buckingham was 'muffed and furred in his coach, giving out that he was sick for sorrow of my Lord Marquis's death but so soone as he vvent to his house […] he triumphed and domineered […] so excessively as if he had gained some great victory.'[136]

Buckingham's apparent guilt in poisoning Hamilton was enough for Eglisham to voice his suspicions that the Duke had also poisoned James and proceeds to dedicate the final section of his pamphlet to these conjectures. He argues that the reason for Buckingham's actions against the King was because, after being influenced by Hamilton, James had begun to censure his favourite. This led Buckingham to enact his nefarious plans against the King. Eglisham alleges that Buckingham offered James 'a white powder' whilst he was ill with 'tertian ague' or malaria. The king however 'longtime refused' but eventually conceded and drunk it with wine whereupon he 'immediately became worse and worse, falling into many soundings and paynes, and violent fluxes of the belly so tormented, that his Maiestie cryed aloud 'o this white powder! This white powder! Wold to God that I had never taken it, it will cost me my lyffe.'[137] Quite how Eglisham would know of James's words is unknown since he notes that Buckingham administered this suspicious powder to James while 'all the King's Doctors of Physicke were at dinner.' Nevertheless, he continues, telling that the following Friday, when the doctors were once again absent,

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134 Eglishman, *The forerunner of reuenge,* B4.
135 Eglishman, *The forerunner of reuenge,* B4v.
136 Eglishman, *The forerunner of reuenge,* Cv.
137 Eglisham, *The forerunner of reuenge,* C2v-C3.

Buckingham 'applyed a Plaster to the King's harte and breast whereupon his Maiestie grew fainte, short breathed and in greate agonie.' Upon the return of the doctors, they found the plaster and quickly 'exclaimed that the King was Poysoned.' The King was to die shortly afterwards on Sunday. Eglisham draws his conclusions by stating that, like Hamilton, the body of the King behaved strangely after death, saying that his 'body and head swelled above measure, his hair with the skin of his head stuck to his pillow, his nayles became loose upon his fingers and toes' and that he 'needeth to say no more to understanding men.'[138]

What is particularly notable about Eglisham's pamphlet is that it is framed in a very similar manner to a witchcraft accusation. The idea that there had been some perceived disagreement, argument or slight which had enraged the witch, who then proceeded to enact revenge upon the alleged aggressor, causing illness and death was common in witchcraft narratives. Though he never openly accuses Buckingham of witchcraft he does remind his readers that he was 'infamous for his frequent consultations with the ringleaders of witches.'[139] Furthermore the association between poisoning and witchcraft, or *maleficium*, was well-known. As Edward Bever argues, poisoning was considered to be closely related to sorcery and witchcraft since its affects were understood to be related to the 'bad wishes' of the poisoner.'[140] Thus it would likely have been apparent to readers of Eglisham's pamphlet exactly what he was hinting at. Despite this, due to Charles I's intervention, Buckingham was never actually charged with any crime, however the damage to his reputation was done. As Gaskill states, it became rumoured that Buckingham used magic to resist parliament and win royal favour and that he held some kind of thrall over both the current and past King. For example, notices popped up around London asking:

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138 Eglisham, *The forerunner of reuenge,* C3-C3v.
139 Eglisham, *The forerunner of reuenge,* B2v.
140 Edward Bever, *The Realities of Witchcraft and Popular Magic in Early Modern Europe: Culture, Cognition and Everyday Life,* (Basingstoke, 2008), p.155

'who rules the Kingdom? – The king. Who rules the king? – the duke. Who rules the duke? – The devil.'[141] Buckingham would be fatally stabbed whilst in London by former army officer John Felton, an end foretold by his cunning-man John Lambe.[142]

Nevertheless, despite Buckingham's reputation as the King's lover, poisoner and consorter with witches the assertion that English witchcraft was linked with charges of sodomy does not appear to be explicitly demonstrable. Whilst it was well known that Buckingham and James enjoyed an intimate relationship, it seems not have been part of the accusations made against him for witchcraft. In fact, during the souring of his reputation, it was not his relationship with James that was used against him but rather the rumours of his sexual antics with various women of the court.[143] Furthermore, the suggestion that James and Buckingham engaged in sodomy is contested by Young. Young suggests that in light of James's abhorrence of sodomy, testified to in his *Basilikon Doron* where he listed sodomy as one of the 'horrible crimes the yee are bound in conscience never to forgive', it was more likely that James engaged in homosexual acts that fell short of sodomy.[144] He cites instead a letter that Buckingham wrote to James to express his gratitude for his elevation in the peerage to the status of Duke in which it appears that he alludes to occasions of mutual masturbation. In the letter Buckingham begins by praising the king's 'large and bountiful hand and heart.' Whilst this may not seem particularly indicative of anything sexual, he goes on to elaborate that:

> there is this difference betwixt that noble hand and hart, one may surfeit by one, but not by the other, and sooner by yours than his own; therefore give me leave to stop, with mine, that hand which hath been but too ready to execute the motions and affections of the kind obliging heart to me.[145]

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141 Gaskill, 'Witchcraft, Politics, and Memory', 295.
142 Woolley, *The King's Assassin,* pp.280, 286.
143 Woolley, *The King's Assassin,* p.245.
144 Young, *King James,* p.49.
145 Young, *King James,* p.49.

Young posits that his statement that one can 'surfeit' by the hand, that is to reach satiety, and preferably by the king's hand to his own is suggestive of masturbation. Further he argues that this is reinforced by Buckingham's reference to James's hand being 'ready to execute the motions and affections' of the heart. Does this mean that they did not commit sodomitical acts? It is impossible to tell of course; early modern people were reticent to speak explicitly of sexual activities, as evidenced by James and Buckingham's metaphor laden exchanges. However, when we consider James's and by extension, early modern society's, abjuration of sodomy it is entirely within the realms of possibility that James did not commit sodomy, rather, enjoying a sexual relationship with his favourites that stopped short of such acts. Furthermore, although it was rumoured that Buckingham engaged in sorcery or witchcraft and consorted with known witches such as Dr. Lambe he was never overtly accused of such acts. This combined with the lack of public reference to the Duke's homosexual tendencies in reference to such diabolic rumours suggests that Brietenberg's assertion that accusations of sodomy were linked to accusations of witchcraft is tenuous at best.

However, there is one male witch in our pamphlets that could be considered to fit into the pattern of deviant sexuality that became so linked with popular beliefs about witches. Doctor John Lambe, the infamous acquaintance of the Duke of Buckingham, was tried for witchcraft, twice, in 1608, whereby he was found guilty of 'unchristian and damnable practices against the person of an Honourble Peere of this Realme' and of 'damnable invocation and worship of evill spirits'.[146] Unusually, Lambe was imprisoned rather than executed for his crimes, despite the 1604 witchcraft act outlining that the penalty for witchcraft was death.[147] He remained in the King's Bench Prison in London

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146 Anon, *A Briefe Description of the Notorious life of John Lambe otherwise called Doctor Lambe. Together with his ignomious death,* (Amsterdam, 1628), A3.

147 Charlotte-Rose Millar, 'Witchcraft and Deviant Sexuality: A Case Study of Dr Lambe' in Marcus K. Harmes, Lindsay Henderson, Barbara Harmes and Amy Antonio (eds.), *The British World:*

until 1623 when he was arraigned for rape. A contemporary pamphlet dedicated to Lambe's exploits details how whilst serving his time in prison, he 'felinously and violently did ravish, deflowre and carnally know' an eleven-year old girl named Joan Seager. Furthermore the pamphlet also relates how he would undertake what Millar terms 'sexualized pranks' such as tricking a woman into lifting her skirts 'above her middle' by causing her to imagine that there was a large pool of water in her path, thereby revealing her genitals to those who were watching.[148] During the pamphlet's dialogue regarding the rape of Seager, evidence is provided by a neighbour, Mabel Swinnerton, who tended to the girl following Lambe's attack. Swinnerton recounts how Joan's body had been 'burnt' by Lambe's 'foule body' possibly suggesting some kind of venereal disease.[149] The description of the injuries caused by Lambe implies, according to Millar, a 'hellish, diabolical quality' to Lambe that causes his touch to wound a young and pure 'virgine' child. Thus, whilst Lambe's sexual deviance is not linked directly to his diabolic crimes that landed him in prison, the descriptions and implications of his hellish, unclean state reinforce the pamphlet's assertion that Lambe is not human but a diabolical witch.[150]

Likewise, Lambe is also the only one of our male witches to fit the theory of the feminized witch put forward by Lara Apps and Andrew Gow, perhaps even more completely than they outline in their argument.[151] For example, Apps and Gow argue that whilst male witches might be 'implicitly feminised' they did not traditionally work in female occupations or wear female clothes, yet in Lambe's pamphlet he is described as doing just this. Mabell Swinnerton, the neighbour who testified to Lambe's rape of Joan Seager stated

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Religion, Memory, Society, Culture; Refereed Proceedings of the Conference Hosted by the University of Southern Queensland, Toowoomba, July 2nd – 5th, 2012, (Toowoomba, 2012), 51; Witchcraft Act 1604, (1 Jas I, c. 12).

148 Anon, *A Breife Description,* B3v.

149 Anon, *A Breife Description*, C3v.

150 Millar, 'Witchcraft and Deviant Sexuality', 56.

151 For the theory of the feminized witch see: Apps and Gow, *Male Witches,* pp.127-137.

that when she went to confront him she 'saw the Doctor […] very busie folding linen, shaking of hem betwixt him and another, and a white cloath pinde about him, and white sleeves up to his elbowes'.[152] Here, Lambe is seen to be partaking in a very female sphere of work. Furthermore, another witness, one Mister Wayneman, stated that Lambe confessed to him that he was able to, through his conjurations, 'doe strange things as […] poyson, and bewitch any man so that they should be disabled from begetting children'.[153] Such witchcrafts, of poisoning and causing impotency - were considered to be primarily female crimes, and it is interesting that none of our other male witches were accused of these actions.[154] This description of John Lambe brings forward the question of how early modern pamphleteers perceived the male witches they wrote about. Did they consider them as different to their female counterparts? Were they considered capable of the same crimes? And how did these writers treat the men they spoke about?

Before we move onto these questions however there is one further example that bears reference in this discussion of witchcraft and sexual deviancy, that of Prince Rupert of the Rhine and his dog, Boy. There were a number of supernatural rumours surrounding Prince Rupert during the 1640s and in his role as one of Charles I's chief military commanders during the civil war. The primary assertion was that Rupert was allegedly 'shot-free' that is, immune to bullets, or bullet-proof in modern parlance, although these rumours pre-dated the English civil-war.[155] It was during the opening months of the conflict that we see the beginnings of Rupert's diabolic reputation emerging through the works of pro-Parliamentarian writers. The earliest example of this comes from a private letter sent by Parliamentarian sergeant Nehemiah Wharton, in which he referred to Rupert

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[152] Anon, *A Briefe Description,* C3.
[153] Anon, *A Briefe Description*, B.
[154] Millar, 'Witchcraft and Deviant Sexuality', 57.
[155] Mark Stoyle, *The Black Legend of Prince Rupert's Dog: Witchcraft and Propaganda During the English Civil War,* (Exeter, 2011), pp.18; 32.

as 'that diabolic Cavaleere.'[156] However, the Royalist advance on London produced a plethora of Parliamentarian publications and it was here that Rupert's reputation took a sinister turn.

In November 1642, three pamphlets were published in quick succession. The first was entitled *Prince Robert, His Plot Discovered,* in which it was alleged that Rupert had changed places with one of his soldiers who had dressed in the Prince's clothes and ridden his horse into battle. The author then goes beyond this case of trickery reporting that the Roundhead soldiers had been somewhat fooled by the ruse, declaring 'they tooke him to be the same plundering Prince, or else some fiery spirit mounted on some airy apparition in the likenes of a horse.'[157] By mentioning spirits and apparitions alongside Rupert the author aimed to establish a clear link between the Prince and the supernatural. Further, Mark Stoyle suggests that by using the term 'airy apparition' the author may have sought to imply a link between Rupert and the Devil in reference to James I's stylisation of the Devil as 'the Prince of aire' during his *Daemonologie.*[158] The second anonymous publication, *A True and Perfect Relation of the Chief Passages in Middlesex,* discussing the Battle of Brentford that took place at Turnham Green on November 13 1642, built upon this subtle link between Rupert and the Devil claiming that the Prince had been seen 'charging like the Devill, rather than a man.'[159] Finally, the third pamphlet entitled *Prince Robert's Disguises, or a True Relation of the Severall Shapes he has Taken,* alludes to Rupert having shapeshifting

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156 Stoyle, *Prince Rupert's Dog,* p.33.

157 Anon*, Prince Robert his plot discovered wherein is declared how he caused a souldier to be disguised like himselfe, who in that habit was set upon and slaine by the souldiers of the Parliaments forces : published to prevent the false and lying discoveries concerning Prince Robert : also the happinesse of peace, and the misery whereinto a land is ingaged by the cruelty of civill and domestick war,* (London, 1643), A2-A2v. Accessed via EEBO

158 Stoyle, *Prince Rupert's Dog,* p.37.

159 Anon, *A True and perfect relation of the chiefe passages in Middlesex between the forces of the malignants, and those assembled for the defence of the kingdome : shewing the approaches of Prince Robert into those parts as far as Turneham-Green, on this side Branford : where on Saturday last the twelfth of November, and on Sunday they had a skirmish : with the defeat hapning to the said prince and his cavaliers by our forces being slain at least eight hundred of those malignants : with the manner of their retreit towards Kent : to the great rejoycing of this honourable city, and all good people that love the high court of Parliament,* (London, 1643), A2v. Accessed via EEBO

capabilities.[160] The ability to transform into other forms had long been associated with witchcraft and the author's not-so-sly allusions to Rupert's use of such skill would have easily informed readers of his links to the occult.[161]

The most important publication however was produced in 1643 and was where Rupert's supernatural reputation becomes explicitly diabolic and deviant. Entitled *Observations upon Prince Rupert's White Dogge Called Boy* and authored by one 'T.B' the pamphlet builds on the work of earlier pro-Parliamentarian writers who had developed Rupert's reputation as a wielder of occult powers. For example, the author states that he 'cannot [but] conclude' that Boy is 'a very downright Devill' or 'a spirit sent to nourish division in Church or State.'[162] T.B. goes on further affirming that the dog was once 'some *Lapland* Lady, who by nature was once an handsome white woman, and now by Art is become an handsome white Dogge.'[163] T.B. then proceeds to reinforce Boy's demonic nature by listing five of his 'qualities.' First is that Boy can make 'prophecies of future events.' Second, he 'hath the art of finding concealed goods.' Third 'he is endued with the gift of Languages' and speaks 'many languages.' Fourthly, in reference to Rupert's shot-free status, T.B. asserts that Boy is 'weapon-proofe' and states that he had once tried to strike the dog 'with a confiding Dagger. but it slided off his skin as if it had beene Armour of Proofe nointed over with Quick-silver.' Finally, Boy is able to 'goe invisibly' and that he uses this ability to 'find our counsells … [and] mingles himselfe with the good Aprentises,

[160] Stoyle, *Prince Rupert's Dog,* p.39.
[161] For example, John Palmer was alleged in his confession to have to have 'transformed himself into a toad' whilst further examples such as Father Rosimond's abilities to turn into an Ape as referenced in the Mary Stiles pamphlet display that such beliefs were widely known and easily attributed to male witches.
[162] T.B., *Observations vpon Prince Rupert's vvhite dogge, called Boy: carefully taken by T.B. for that purpose imployed by some quality in London,* (London, 1643), Av. Accessed via EEBO
[163] T.B., *Observations,* Av.

sometimes [he] appears like Ezechiell … and sometimes like Nathaniell' whereby he 'brings us false information.'[164]

Having clearly established Boy's diabolic capabilities, T.B. further affirms this demonization suggesting that the dog was 'very Loose and Strumpet-like. For he salutes and kisseth the Prince, as close as any Christian woman would; and the Prince salutes and kisseth him back again as savorily as he would … any Court-Lady.'[165] Additionally, and perhaps most scandalously to his readers, T.B. then avows that Rupert and Boy 'lye perpetually in one bed, sometimes the Prince upon the Dog, and sometimes the Dog upon the Prince; & what this in time may produce none […] can tell.'[166] As Stoyle suggests, these insinuations of a sexual and deviant relationship with his dog echo the above discussed belief that witches may sometimes enter into sexual relationships with their familiar spirits or the devil.[167] T.B. explicitly confirms Boy's demonic status by stating that he 'communicates with that bloody Prince, as his familiar' thus casting Rupert firmly into the role of witch and boy as his diabolic companion.[168]

This alleged sexual proclivity for bestiality was also repeated in a pamphlet entitled *An exact description of Prince Rupert's malignant She-Monkey* published later in 1643. The author of this publication was clearly heavily influenced by T.B.'s earlier pamphlet and apes his assertions regarding Rupert's relationship with Boy stating that the monkey, owned by Rupert, was, like the dog, once 'a proud dame' who was converted by the gods into a 'lascivious she-monkey' as punishment for her 'obscene wantonnesse.'[169] The author then

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164 T.B., *Observations,* Av, A2, A2v, A3.
165 T.B., *Observations,* A3.
166 T.B., *Observations,* A3.
167 Stoyle, *Prince Rupert's Dog,* p.60.
168 T.B., *Observations,* A4v.
169 John Taylor, *An exact description of Prince Ruperts malignant she-monkey, a great delinquent: Having approved her selfe a better servant, then his white dog called Boy. Laid open in three particulars: 1. What she is in her owne shape. 2. What she doth figuratively signifie. 3. Her malignant tricks and qualities,* (London, 1643), Av.

goes on to regale the reader with tales of how the monkey would regularly adopt 'postures' that were 'wanton and full of provocation' which would 'tempt the prince to lassicious desires.'[170] At first glance these two pamphlets not only insinuate that Prince Rupert was a witch in possession of a dog shaped familiar but also that was, in line with female malefic witches, engaged in a sexual relationship with his demonic spirit. Such accusations were made even more perverse by the insinuation that such relations occurred whilst the spirit was in animal form. It does bear noting however that homosexual overtones are once more completely removed through the assertion that Boy and Rupert's pet monkey were originally human women. Further, though the author of the second pamphlet removes the demonic aspect of Rupert's animal companion, the deviancy of a bestial relationship nonetheless remains.

However, recent historical studies have closely examined these two pamphlets and suggested that rather than T.B's *Observations* being part of parliamentarian propaganda efforts, it is in fact Royalist satire aimed at highlighting the absurdity of the Roundhead faction and their beliefs. For example, Katherine Briggs argues that *Observations* 'makes fun of the Puritan dread of Rupert's white dog, Boye.'[171] Diane Purkiss also places these pamphlets firmly in the camp of 'satirical portrayals' of Parliamentarian 'preoccupations with occult significances' through T.B's assertions of Boy's diabolic skills such as finding treasure, making prophecies and becoming invisible.[172] Likewise, Eric Pudney states that Boy's supernatural powers and status as a witch was used ironically 'by a Royalist propagandist, in mockery of the Parliamentarian apparent belief in the military use of witchcraft by their enemies.'[173] Stoyle agrees with these observations, arguing that the basic

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170 Taylor, *Prince Ruperts malignant she-monkey,* A3, A2v.
171 Katherine Briggs, *Pale Hectate's Team: An Examination of the Beliefs on Witchcraft and Magic among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and his Immediate Successors,* (Abingdon, 2nd Edition, 2003), p.28.
172 Diane Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics during the English Civil War,* (Cambridge, 2005), p.215.
173 Eric Pudney, *Scepticism and Belief in English Witchcraft Drama, 1538-1681,* (Lund, 2019), p.259.

message of the piece was 'that the Parliamentarians are superstitious fools who are frightened of the Prince's dog.'[174] Further, he suggests that T.B.'s frequent references to Parliamentarian defeats and failures in the tract are indicative of a pro-Royalist stance, asserting that a Parliamentarian writer would have likely preferred to avoid drawing attention to such events.[175] Additionally, he notes that some of Boy's own prophecies 'hint very strongly' at a Royalist origin, citing for example the pronouncement that 'the King shall enter London before May-day next, with threescore thousand horses and foote.' This he writes, would have been unlikely to be included by a Parliamentarian writer, as would have the assertion that the current, pro-parliament, London mayor was unlawful.[176]

Likewise, Stoyle argues that *An Exact Description* was also clearly a Royalist tract, designed to build upon T.B's satirical jabs at Parliamentarian superstition and foolishness as well as to capitalise on the public excitement that followed the publication of *Observations*. *An Exact Description* is fundamentally underpinned by a lewd joke and double entendre of the word 'monkey.' This word, Stoyle tells us, possessed the same 'scurrilous secondary meaning as the word 'pussy' does today.'[177] The chief point of the pamphlet, therefore, was not to insinuate that Rupert engaged in a bestial relationship with an ape, but rather that he was a lust-driven 'plunderer' of 'ladies cabynits', a real ladies man.[178] Nevertheless, the tales surrounding Prince Rupert and his alleged supernatural capabilities and demonic companions provide an interesting insight into the ideas of witchcraft and deviant sexuality during the early modern period, particularly as a political weapon to both smear and satirise enemies with. One might even venture to state that the idea of male

[174] Stoyle, *Prince Rupert's Dog,* p.62.
[175] Stoyle, *Prince Rupert's Dog*, p.63.
[176] Stoyle, *Prince Rupert's Dog,* pp.63-4.
[177] Stoyle, *Prince Rupert's Dog,* pp.98-9.
[178] Taylor, *Prince Ruperts malignant she-monkey,* A4.

demonic sexuality could only be conceived of in English witch-beliefs as a satirical jab at superstitious fools rather than as an actual reality of male witches' actions.

O' WICKED AND MISERABLE WRETCH

The pamphlets selected for study in this chapter provide an ideal starting point for accessing how popular belief, and those who wrote about it, viewed male witches. Much has been written on the stereotype of the female witch and it is an image that, through popular culture, has become very familiar to us. More relevant to this study, the figure of the wicked, malicious and revengeful witch is also present in the demonological texts examined in the previous chapter. This female witch is also present in the pamphlets we have been scrutinizing here: although only four of the eight chosen pamphlets provide authorial descriptions of the witches they write about, and only two of those concern women alongside men, we see them described as 'ill-natured and wicked', 'dangerous and malitious' and as a 'barbarous and inhumane monster[s]'.[179] Interestingly we also see mention of their physical attributes, for example Anne Whittle of the Lancashire witches was described as a 'very old, withered spent & decreped creature,' a picture that is very similar to the one perpetuated in the demonological texts of the period.[180] However, did the authors of these pamphlets view men in the same way?

Firstly, like their learned counterparts, we do not find pamphlets providing a physical description of any of our male witches; it seems that both popular and learned writers held no fascination with twisting the male witch into a grotesque figure in both body and mind. Nevertheless, when the authors of the four pamphlets noted did discuss the men accused, they did not shy away from accentuating their diabolic and unsavoury

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179 Anon, *The witches of Northamptonshire. Agnes Brown. Arthur Bill. Joane Vaughan. Hellen Jenkenson Witches. Mary Barber. Who were all executed at Northampton the 22 of July last,* (London, 1612), B2; Potts, *Wonderfull Discovery,* B, F2.
180 Potts, *Wonderfull Discovery,* D2

natures. The 1612 pamphlet *The witches of Northamptonshire* describes that accused witch, Arthur Bill, as a 'wretched poor man both in state and mind' and that he was 'publically known to be of evill life and reputation'.[181] The following year Thomas Potts described James Device as a 'wicked and miserable wretch' whilst John Bulcock was labelled as a 'desperate wretch'.[182] We may also note that in 1649 John Palmer was averred to be of a 'fretfull and revengfull nature'.[183] The final pamphlet that provides an author's view of the witch is the publication referring to John Lambe discussed above; here the writer refers to Lambe simply as a 'wicked person'.[184] As we can see, the popular writers of the period certainly considered male witches to possess objectionable natures. However, it appears that they were more limited in their adjectives when describing men compared to the more colourful and varied characterisations of female witches. This is evident if we consider the two pamphlets in which both the trials and crimes of both men and women were discussed. The first of these is *The Witches of Northamptonshire*; which noted that four women were tried alongside Arthur Bill, *Table. 2.1* below shows the description the author provides of these witches.

Agnes Brown	'Ill-natured and wicked', 'Spiteful and Malitious', 'Borne to no good', 'of poore parentage and poorer education'
Joan Vaughan	'As gratious as the mother' (Mother was Agnes Brown above)
Hellen Jenkenson	'Noted […] to be of an evill life', 'Poore, wretched, scorned and forsaken'
Mary Barber	'Of mean parents', 'she was so monstrous and hideous in both her life and actions'

Table 2.1: The Witches of Northamptonshire Female Witch Descriptions.[185]

[181] Anon, *The Witches of Northamptonshire,* Cv, C2.
[182] Potts, *Wonderfull Discovery,* Hv, Q3.
[183] Anon, *The Divels Delusions,* A3.
[184] Anon, *A Briefe Description,* A2.
[185] Anon, *The Witches of Northamptonshire,* B2, Dv-D2, D2v

As we can see, the characteristics ascribed to Bill's cohorts are considerably more varied and vivid that those which were ascribed to him. Yet there are some similarities, perhaps most apparent in Mary Barber's description. Both for example are considered to be poor and wretched as well as to have lived an evil life. There were also similarities between pamphlets, *Table 2.2* shows the descriptions that Potts provided of some of the women tried alongside James Device and John Bulcock. It is interesting to note, briefly returning to the role of poverty, that the only woman who was found guilty of causing the death of a person through her witchcraft and was not described negatively by Potts, was one Alice Nutter who, far from being poor, was a 'rich woman, had great estate, and children of good hope' and was 'of good temper, free from envy or malice'.[186] Perhaps then, poverty added another layer of odiousness in the writer's mind? It would certainly fit with notions surrounding poverty during this period. Sharpe for example argues that hostility towards

Elizabeth Southerns	'Dangerous and malitious witch'
Anne Whittle	'Old, withered, spent & decreped'
Elizabeth Device	'Barbarous and inhumane monster'
Anne Redferne	'Miserable creature'
Katherine Hewitt	'Wicked Furie'
Jane Bulcock	'Desperate Wretch'
Alison Device	'Odious Witch'
Jennet Preston	'Dangerous and malitious witch'

Table 2.2. Thomas Potts, Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches Female Descriptions.[187]

the poor increased in England during this period due to more commercialization and a wider stratification of classes. Furthermore he asserts that the marginal poor were the stratum of society from which most criminals would be drawn.[188] Robert Jütte agrees, suggesting that as the number of poor increased and began to include more than the

[186] Potts, *Wonderfull Discovery,* O3v
[187] Potts, *Wonderfull Discovery,* B, D2, F2, N3v, P3, Q3, R2v, S4, X4.
[188] James Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England 1550-1750,* (Oxford, 2nd Edition, 1999), p.128,

traditional groups such as widows, orphans and the ill, it awakened much more fear amongst contemporaries.[189] This belief is also represented by contemporary writer Richard Bernard who wrote in 1627, whilst discussing witchcraft, that 'when a man is impatient of poverty, and will needs bee rich, even against God's providence, here is a preparation for a Divell'.[190] Thus the link between poverty and witchcraft was clearly established at the time.

Returning to the task at hand, comparison between the two pamphlets once more shows that the popular writers drew upon a much larger variety of descriptors when discussing women. There are similarities, perhaps deriving from archetypal clichés, in the way in which these two authors describe these witches. 'Wicked', 'malicious' and 'monstrous' are all used frequently throughout both pamphlets. Likewise, there is a common descriptor of the male witch too; the characterisation of Arthur Bill, James Device and John Bulcock as 'wretches' or 'wretched'. If we trace the meaning of the word wretch one can see that the meaning evolves away from 'poverty and misery' in the thirteenth century towards a much more negative connotation such as 'base, vile, contemptible and reprehensible' in the fifteenth century.[191] This is feasibly the most likely interpretation intended by the authors as, certainly in the case of Bill, his poverty was already well established while James Device was known to come from an impoverished family. This interpretation also aligns with the descriptions provided for John Lambe, although it must be noted that Lambe was not poor, and John Palmer. Though not inextricably linked with the male – after all Mary Barber was also described as wretched and, to give another example, the title of a pamphlet referring to Elizabeth Stiles written in 1592 described her as a 'wretched witch' - it is apparent that for these two authors at least,

[189] Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe,* (Cambridge, 1994), p.2.
[190] Richard Bernard, *A guide to grand-jury men*, (London, 1627), p.103.
[191] "wretch, n. and adj.". OED Online. June 2017. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/230654?

our male witches were not odious, malicious or monstrous but simply wretched, and wretched in all ways.[192]

This discussion of the variety of descriptions applied to male and female witches raises an interesting question: why did female witches have a wider variety of negative labels for authors to draw upon than men? It could perhaps be linked to the preoccupation with female deviant behaviour and its association with witchcraft. In particular, the idea of the 'scold.' The stereotype of the scold as a woman was pervasive in early modern England and was particularly linked with witchcraft. John Gaule, for example, states that witches had a 'scolding tongue', whilst Reginald Scot argues that 'the chief fault' of the women accused was 'that they are scolds.'[193] Further, the idea of the scold fits intimately with the idea of the female witch. As D.E. Underdown argues, scolds tended to be women who were 'poor, social outcasts, widows […] or newcomers to the community'.[194] Further, Garthine Walker writes that from the sixteenth century the archetypal scold was not merely a loose-tongued woman but was also sexually voracious, economically perverse and physically violent.[195] These descriptions certainly seem very familiar: Elizabeth Southerns was described by Thomas Potts as being a 'very old woman, about the age of Foure-score yeares', whilst Anne Chattox was noted to be 'poore creature' 'very old, withered, spent & decreped creature.'[196] Likewise, Agnes Browne of the Northamptonshire witches was said to be 'ill-natured' whilst her daughter Joan Vaughn was reported to have 'commited something either in speech or gesture so unfitting and unseeming to the nature of woman-hood, that it displeased most that were there present.' Similarly, Helen Jenkinson of the

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192 G.B., *A Most Wicked worke of a wretched Witch,* (London, 1592), A.
193 Gaule, *Select Cases,* p. 5; Scot, *The Discovery of Witchcraft,* p. 19.
194 D.E. Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold: The Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England' in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (eds.), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England,* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 120.
195 Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England,* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 101.
196 Potts, *Wonderfull Discovery,* Bv, Dv-D2.

same pamphlet was described as being 'poore', 'scorned' and 'forsaken', suggesting the poverty and isolation associated with the stereotypical scold and witch.[197] The sexual promiscuity and deviancy of witches was discussed earlier, for example Joan Wallis and Elizabeth Weed confessed to lying with the devil.[198] Finally the stereotype of the scold and the witch being economically perverse need not be explained much further; it has long been established that a large number of women accused of witchcraft were poor.

Beyond the explicit association with scolding and scolds, is the similarity between the language used to describe women brought before the courts, not explicitly as scolds but, for example, in order to be bound over the keep the peace, which Walker asserts was a cheaper and more convenient way of prosecuting those who engaged in scolding behaviour. Often these women were accused of being 'very lewd and malicious' and 'common defamer[s] and slanderer[s] of her neighbours.'[199] Certainly we see many of the female witches mentioned in the pamphlets being described as 'malicious', as can be seen in *Table 2:1* and *Table 2:2* above. The similarity between the lewdness of women convicted of breaking the boundaries of acceptable female behaviour and witches is also present in the witchcraft pamphlets of the period. In the cases of the pamphlets concerning male witches, Elizabeth Device for example was said to have a 'bastard child' by one 'Seller'.[200] In the St Albans pamphlet, where we find John Lowes, we see the description of a witch imprisoned who 'seemeth very penitent for her former lewd and abominable indevours.' Further the author states that one of the '120 more suspected witches in prison' confessed that 'she had […] conceived twice by him [the Devil]'[201] Finally, in the pamphlet detailing the trials of the witches at St. Osyth in 1582, in which one Henry Celles and his wife Cisely

197 Anon, *The Witches of Northamptonshire,* B2, B2v, D2.
198 Davenport, *Witches of Huntingdon,* A3v, C.
199 Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order,* p.107.
200 Potts, *Wonderfull Discovery,* F4v
201 Anon, *A True Relation,* p.5.

were featured, Cisely was described as often giving 'lewd speeches.' Alongside the Celles, Ursuley Kemp was known to have a had a base son who testified to her witchcraft and was described as a 'naughtie beasts.' Likewise, Anne Glascocke was reputed to be a 'naughtie woman and dealer in witchcraft.'[202]

We see these tropes of the lewd and scolding witch repeated across witchcraft pamphlets published during this period. For example, Joan Cunny of the 1592 pamphlet *The Apprehension and Confession of Three Notorious Witches* was described as 'living very lewdly' whilst Joan Prentice of the same pamphlet was said to have had 'two basterd children.'[203] Whilst Elizabeth Gooding, tried and executed for witchcraft in 1645, was described as being a 'lewd woman.'[204] In 1618 Joan Flower was described as being a 'monstrous, malicious woman' with 'fell and enuious' speech' and her neighbours testified that she 'terrified them all with curses and threatening of reuenge.'[205] Joan's daughter Phillip Flower was also described as being 'lewdly transported with the love of one Th[omas] Simpson.'[206]

Furthermore, this association between scolding and witchcraft is also reflected in the trial records of the period. An examination of ecclesiastical court records from Essex, displayed in *Table 2:3* below, shows that it was not uncommon for women to be brought before the courts on charges of being a witch and a scold or engaging in some variation of verbal, social or sexually transgressive behaviour. Likewise, we see similar examples for other regions. For example, Thomasine Short of Exeter was convicted in 1561 for being a

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[202] W.W., *A true and iust recorde, of the information, examination and confession of all the witches, taken at S. Ofes in the countie of Essex whereof some were executed, and other some entreated according to the determination of lawe. Wherein all men may see what a pestilent people witches are, and how vnworthy to lyue in a Christian Commonwealth. Written orderly, as the cases were tryed by euidence, by W. W.*, (London, 1582), C8v, A3v, A3, Cv.
[203] Anon, *Apprehension and Confession,* A2, D2.
[204] H.F. *A True and exact relation of several informations, examinations, and confessions of the late witches, arraigned and executed in the county of Essex,* (London, 1645), p.7
[205] Anon, *The wonderful discouerie of the witch crafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower, daughters of Joan Flowers neere Beuer Castle: Esxecuted at Lincolne, March 11 1618,* (London, 1619), C3.
[206] Anon, *Witch Crafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower, C3v*

scold. Almost twenty-years later in 1581 she was tried and executed as a witch for bewitching to death the wife, son and daughter of one Richard Hewe. She had also been tried on two other occasions, once for harbouring a girl who had been banished from the city for sexual misdemeanours in 1561 and later for an unspecified felony.[207] As Mark Stoyle suggests, Shorte's long-standing reputation as a scold and troublesome woman most likely helped to foster her neighbours' suspicions that she was also a diabolic witch.[208] This evidence of both popular printed literature and trial records suggests that the association with witchcraft, scolding and other transgressive social behaviours provided commentators with a wider vocabulary to draw upon when discussing the odiousness of the alleged witches.

Year	**Name**	**Description**
1574	Margaret Saunders	'A witch and a scold'
1577	Joan Prynder	'A curser and a witch'
1583	Agnes Billinge	'A witch' and suspected of living and 'incestuous lieff w[i]th her sonne'
1586	Joan Page	'A witch and devilishe of her tonge'
1588	Widow Tibbaulde	'A witch' and 'an unquiet and slanderous woman'
1594	Margaret Clarke	'A witch' and 'a woman of filthey behaviour'
1598	Joan Rothe	'A witch and a scolder'
1620	Alice Trittle	'A witch suspected for many years' and an 'evil tongued woman'

Table 2:3 Presentments for witchcraft and scolding during the Essex Ecclesiastical courts.[209]

However, despite scolding being a strongly feminized offence, it was by no means limited to women at the lower court levels. As Walker and Marjorie Macintosh argue, there were several men who found themselves presented to the courts for scolding

[207] Mark Stoyle, 'It Is But an Olde Wytche Gonne': Prosecutions and Execution for Witchcraft in Exeter, 1558-1610, *History,* 96:322 (2011), pp.142-4
[208] Mark Stoyle, *Witchcraft in Exeter, 1558-1660,* (Exeter, 2017), p.20.
[209] Macfarlane, *Witchcraft,* pp.280-92.

offences.[210] In Macintosh's study we even see the number of men charged as scolds rise considerably in the latter decades of the sixteenth century.[211] Yet by the mid-seventeenth century the figure of the male scold all but disappeared as the stereotype of the scolding woman solidified.[212] The question is of course, if witchcraft and scolding were so inextricably linked why were male witches seemingly not accused of such verbal violence? Though men could be, and were, prosecuted for scolding behaviour, none of our male witches in the pamphlets were explicitly termed as such, nor were the authors seemingly concerned with these witches' verbal social transgressions. Yet if we look deeper, we see that some men accused of witchcraft engaged in similar violent and antagonistic behaviour. Amongst those mentioned in the pamphlets examined here, the vicar John Lowes who was executed at St. Albans in 1645 for various counts of *maleficium* perhaps fits best into this idea of the scolding, verbally transgressive and aggressive witch. Though the author of this particular pamphlet does not mention Lowes' antisocial behaviour, Lowes was also the subject of an earlier pamphlet in 1642 entitled *A magazine of scandall* in which he was labelled as a 'common barretor' as well as stating that he had been twice arraigned on charges of witchcraft.[213] If scolding was a female crime then barratry was the male equivalent and as Karen Jones argues, by the late 16th century barratry seems to have become equated with scolding.[214] Barratry during the early modern period had a number of definitions. Traditionally it had been used to mean the offence of pursuing spurious court

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210 Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order,* p.102; Marjorie Keniston Macintosh, *Controlling Misbehaviour in England 1370-1600,* (Cambridge, 1998), pp.197-8.
211 Macintosh, *Controlling Misbehaviour,* pp.197-8, 58-9.
212 Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order,* p.104.
213 Anon, *A magazine of scandall. Or, a heape of wickednesse of two infamous ministers, consorts, one named Thomas Fowkes of Earle Sohman in Suffolke, convicted by law for killing a man, and the other named Iohn Lowes of Brandeston, who hath been arraigned for witchcraft, and convicted by law for a common barrettor,* (London, 1642), A3-A3v.
214 Karen Jones, *Gender and Petty Crime in Late Medieval England: The Local Couts in Kent, 1460-1560,* (Woolbridge, 2006), p.103.

cases that wasted the time of the judges.[215] However, by the sixteenth-century its definition had been expanded to include more general verbal disorder, such as common quarrelling or brawling and the stirring up of strife amongst neighbours.[216] It was in the traditional meaning that Lowes was indicted and charged, with the author of *A magazine of scandall* stating that he had enticed a tailor to his home on a Sunday to mend his trousers and then proceeded to prosecute the said tailor on the basis that it was not 'lawfull to mend britches on the sabbath day.'[217] Beyond this pamphlet, Malcolm Gaskill uncovered that Lowes had further court cases at the Woodbridge quarter sessions in 1615 in which it was alleged that he was a 'common barretor and disturber of the peace' who 'most inviously plaged and molested his neighbours' suggesting that Lowes also ascribed to the wider definition of a barretor.[218]

It was not just Lowes who harboured a reputation for contravening verbal and social boundaries, though he is the only one found amongst the pamphlets studied here. In the trial records for example we see that one Stephen Ingrave was presented in 1584 at the ecclesiastical court in Colchester on the charges of being 'a witch and a common brawler and sower of discord between neighbours.'[219] Yet despite these examples, the link between witchcraft, verbal violence and social disruption does not appear to be particularly intertwined in the case of male witches. Lowes and Ingrave were the only two men explicitly linked with such behaviours to be found amongst the men examined for this study, and although others may have displayed certain characteristics, the link remains tenuous and obscure.

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215 Sandy Bardsley, *Venemous Tongues: Speech and Gender in Late Medieval England,* (Philadelphia, 2006), p.29.
216 Karen Jones, *Gender and Petty Crime,* p.103; Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order,* pp.104-5.
217 Anon, *A magazine of scandall,* A3-A3v
218 Malcolm Gaskill, *Witchfinders: A Seventeenth-Century English Tragedy,* (London, 2005), pp.108-9.
219 Macfarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.288.

DIABOLICALLY INDEPENDENT BY-PRODUCTS

In the introduction the prominent historiographical approach which considers women to be the instigators of witchcraft and men to have been accused as simple by-products of the hysteria which had already been whipped up or as supposed confederates of a female witch, was cast into doubt. This thesis can be challenged through an analysis of trial records as will be shown in the following chapter. However, it is also not supported by the evidence of the pamphlets. Of our male 'witches', John Walsh, John Winnick and John Lowes were all accused independently of association with women. Though Winnick and Lowes are included in a larger trial pamphlet that discusses both men and women they are not linked to any of them either in actions or confessions. More important perhaps are the examples of John Palmer and John Lambe. These two witches are said, in a reversal of the dominant theory, to have enticed two females, Elizabeth Knott and Anne Bodenham into their wicked crafts. The author of the pamphlet relating to Palmer, indeed terms his corruption of Knott 'his prime pranck'.[220] John Lambe's alleged seduction of Anne Bodenham into diabolism has been contested; Malcolm Gaskill for example suggests that the evidence that Bodenham ever even met Lambe is tenuous.[221] Nevertheless, twenty-five years after Lambe's murder, Bodenham was tried and executed as a witch and the resulting pamphlet written by Edmond Bower entitled *Doctor Lambe revived, or, witchcraft condemn'd in Anne Bodenham,* documents her supposed confession that she had once been a servant to Lambe whereby 'she reading some of his books, with his help learnt her art'.[222] The examples of Palmer and Lambe show that writes of popular pamphlets were quite prepared to believe in the propensity of men to be instigators of witchcraft and to entice

[220] Anon, *The Divels Delusions,* A3v.
[221] Malcolm Gaskill, 'Witchcraft, Politics, and Memory in Seventeenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal,* 50:2 (2007), 293.
[222] Edmond Bower, *Doctor Lambe Revived, or, witchcraft condemn'd in Anne Bodenham,* (London, 1653), E2.

women into their heinous ways. Furthermore, even in cases where the accused was linked to a female witch, such as Arthur Bill who was accused with his mother and father, they could be considered the more aggressive player. The author of the pamphlet relating to Bill for example declared him to be 'the pricipall, or (I thinke) the onely actor'. Here we see that the authors' own belief is that Bill, rather than the elder matriarchal witch, was the most diabolical.[223] Further, Bill's nefariousness is accentuated by the portrayal of him as the primary instigator behind the tormenting of his father for testifying against them.[224] Thus it seems evident that there was no conceptual impediment to the notion that men could act independently from females or to instigate others into a confederacy with the devil.

Just as both male and female witches were believed to act independently, so popular belief saw little difference in the kinds of malefic and diabolic acts they were likely to commit. The most common acts of witchcraft were of course bewitching to cause harm, bewitching a person to death and bewitching goods and chattels. These are certainly the most prominent in our pamphlets. A brief tally of these crimes shows that amongst both the male and female accused, causing someone's death through witchcraft was the most common crime. For example, of the 11 male witches that make up our study they committed, between them 13 acts of witchcraft, of these 30%, or 4, were bewitching someone to death. Likewise, amongst the women present in these pamphlets a total of 63 counts of witchcraft were noted, spread between 45 females, 42%, or 27, were cases of bewitching to death a person. The remaining 9 crimes charged to our male witches are divided evenly amongst other categories. *Table 2.4* below shows the distribution of crimes between both the male and female witches discussed in these pamphlets. As we can see there is evidence that men were quite capable of committing the same act of maleficium as

[223] Anon, *The Witches of Northamptonshire,* C2v.
[224] Anon, *The Witches of Northamptonshire,* C2v-C3.

women, in fact the only two cases in which a woman was accused of a certain type of action and a man was not are relatively mild accusations of attending a meeting and of the rather shaky suspicion of witchcraft rather that of anything concrete such as bewitching to death or causing harm.

Crime Type	Male	Female
Wasting and Consuming	1	3
Bewitching to Cause Harm	1	7
Bewitching to Death	4	27
Bewitching Goods and Chattels	1	9
Raising Storms	1	0
Witchcraft and Sorcery	1	0
Arson (non magical)	1	3
Attending a Meeting	0	1
Suspicion of Witchcraft	0	1
Possessing a Familiar	1	7
Invoking and Entertaining Spirits	1	0
Enticing a maid to steal victuals	1	0

Table 2.4. Types of Crimes between Male and Female witches across all pamphlets

However, what is interesting are the four cases where only men were accused. Of these the three crimes of raising storms to destroy ships, confessed to by John Lowes, Invoking and Entertaining spirits by John Lambe and the rather broad charge of 'witchcraft and sorcery' charged to John Walsh are the most 'serious'. John Winnick's confession of employing his familiar to entice a maid to steal victuals for him seems almost desperately minor by comparison to those charged with murder, bodily harm and invocation. Further, whilst there are accounts of familiars promising or bringing victuals to their witches, Winnick is the only case, which is mentioned in the pamphlets in which an alleged witch used his familiar in such a way to gain food. Perhaps, as Gaskill suggests, this

is simply evidence of the fantasies of a marginal person in an age where hardships were part of everyday life?[225]

In contrast to Winnick's confession Lambe's charge of invocation is not the only example found in the pamphlets. In John Walsh's confession he admits to possessing a book of circles given to him by his master which he used to summon his familiar, until it was confiscated by the constable. Walsh's case is particularly interesting due to his description of the precise ritual needed to summon his familiar. Thus he tells how:

> Two wax candels of Virgin waxe shoulde first haue bene layd a crosse vpom the Circle, wyth a little Franckensence, and saynt Iohns woorte, and once lighted, and so put out agayne: which Franckensence must be layd then at euery end of the candel, […] and also a little Frankensence with saynt Iohns woort burned vpon the grounde.[226]

A similar scene is reported in the trial pamphlet of Anne Bodenham who was alleged to have made:

> A kind of a Circle, and then took a book, and carrying it over the Circle, […] and taking a green Glass, did lay it upon the book, and placed in the Circle an earthen pan of Coles, wherein she threw something, which burning caused a very noysome stinck, [...] and so calling Belzebub, Tormentor, Satan, and Lucifer appear.[227]

The ritual is very similar to Walsh's description, though considerably more overtly diabolic if one considers the names of the spirits she is invoking. Bodenham's use of circles and invocation is perhaps unsurprising due to her status as Lambe's ex-servant and student. However, what is intriguing about this particular form of witchcraft is that the three accused, Lambe, Walsh and Bodenham, are not technically witches, but rather, cunning folk, though in the case of Lambe and his apprentice their stories have been demonized quite considerably by contemporary popular writing, perhaps due to the fact that many had believed Lambe to be a witch rather than a cunning man. In fact, Walsh is the only one not

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225 Malcolm Gaskill, 'Masculinity and Witchcraft', p.179.
226 Anon, *Examination of John Walsh,* A6.
227 Bower, *Doctor Lambe's Darling,* B3.

portrayed to have taken part in harmful acts of maleficium.[228] Nevertheless, such cunning folk provide us with a unique point of access to ideas of witchcraft at the lowest levels of early modern society.

This is particularly true of the pamphlet containing Walsh's confession. The interrogation that Walsh underwent provides us with some very descriptive explanations of what a malefic witch might do and how they could achieve their aims. He details for example the process of making clay figures in order to cause harm to a specific person whereby he states that the figure is made from earth taken from a fresh grave, ashes of a human rib bone, a black spider and bound together in water in which a toad had been washed. Once dry the image can then be pricked in the area where the witch wishes to cause harm and the witch can then kill the victim by pricking the heart of the image.[229] This description, at least regarding the method of causing harm, was reiterated forty-seven years later by Elizabeth Southerns the grandmother of James Device; but she added a twist of her own by stating that burning the figure causes the intended victim to die immediately.[230] It seems that James learned well from his grandmother for in his confession he stated he had made a clay image of Mistress Towneley after she had struck him on the back. He then crumbled the image a little each day causing great torment to his victim before she died once the figure had been completely destroyed.[231] Such image-making is a common theme in Potts' pamphlet; the mother of James, Elizabeth Device also confessed to using a clay image and crumbling it away to kill John Robinson. Likewise, Anne Redferne was also alleged in the same pamphlet to have made clay images of three people, though she does not describe how she killed them.[232] Another of our male witches, John Palmer, also

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[228] For reference to Lambe and Bodenham as cunning folk see; Davies, *Popular Magic,* pp.71, 73.
[229] Anon, *Examination of John Walsh,* A7.
[230] Potts, *Wonderfull Discovery,* B3v.
[231] Potts, *Wonderfull Discovery,* H3v.
[232] Potts, *Wonderfull Discovery,* F3, N4v.

admitted to creating a clay image of his victim, Goodwife Pearls, which he then burned upon the fire, killing the woman instantly.[233] In a similar vein, Mother Dutton in the 1579 pamphlet *A rehershal both straunge and true* was alleged to have 'made fower pictures of Redde waxe' and 'did sticke a Hauthorne pricke against the left sides of the breastes of the images […] where thei thought the hartes of the person to be sette' which caused her intended victims to die suddenly shortly after.[234] Thus we see a clear pattern in the popular belief regarding the use of clay or wax images to cause harm or death to a person, and like many other acts of witchcraft there appears to be no gender specific link with both male and female witches being capable of employing such techniques.

Finally, John Lowes' confession of raising storms in order to sink ships and ultimately kill those on board is one that is in fact relatively rare in the popular pamphlet literature. Interestingly Lowes' actions of raising storms in order to sink ships echo the capabilities of Merlin discussed in the previous chapter who was said to have raised storms to stymie Arthur's enemies. Furthermore, there was also the particularly interesting case of the gentleman scholar Thomas Doughty and his brother John, who were part of the crew accompanying Francis Drake on his 'Famous Expedition' to interfere with Spanish treasure fleets in 1577. After a particularly bad storm in which Doughty's ship was separated from the rest of the fleet, Drake denounced Thomas as a 'conjurer and witche' and 'at eny time when we had any fowle wether, he would say that Thomas Doughty was the occasyoner thereof.'[235] Drake's reasoning was that Doughty had conjured the storm as part of a campaign of mutiny against him.[236] Following these accusations, on the 30 June 1578, Drake summoned all his men to witness the trial of Doughty for various accusations

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233 Anon, *The Divels Delusion,* A3v.
234 Anon, *A rehearsall both straung and true,* A7-A7v.
235 Francis Fletcher, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake: Being his next Voyage to that to Nombre de Dios,* (London, 1854), p.xxx.
236 Harry Kelsey, Sir Francis Drake: *The Queens Pirate,* (New Haven, 2000) p.104.

of mutiny stating that he had 'sought by divers means […] to discredit me to the great hinderance and overthrow of this voyage, besides other great matters wherewith I have to charge you withal.'[237] As a result of the trial, Doughty was subsequently found guilty and executed by beheading.[238] Doughty was an ambitious and highly educated young gentleman who had served under the Earl of Essex in Ireland where he met Drake. Documents from the period suggest that shortly into the expedition Doughty and Drake began to clash as Doughty began to question Drake's actions and overstep his boundaries, to the extent that during one period Drake had Doughty tied to the mast of his ship.[239] Whether Drake truly believed that Doughty had used witchcraft to raise the storms that plagued his fleet is unknown however, it was enough that the sailors believed the possibility and helped Drake to regain control of the situation.

Nevertheless, the act of sinking ships and raising storms is not an act *maleficium* solely practised by, or attributed to, male witches. Across both Europe and England there are cases of witches, both male and female, using weather magic to destroy ships. Perhaps most known is the case of the North Berwick witches Agnes Samson, John Fian, Euphemia Mackcalzane and Francis Stewart, the Earl of Bothwick, who were alleged to have raised storms in order to sink the King's ship on his return from Denmark with his new wife Anne of Denmark.[240] Further, there are two other cases of storm-raising that I can find in the English pamphlets both of which relate to confessions of female witches. One is that of Joan Robinson who, in 1582, allegedly raised 'a greate winde' which almost destroyed a house belonging to those who had denied Robinson's request to borrow some

[237] John Sugden, *Sir Francis Drake,* (London, 2006), p.108.
[238] René Moelker, 'Norbert Elias, maritime supremacy and the naval profession: on Elias' unpublished studies in the genesis of the naval profession', *The British Journal of Sociology,* 54:3 (2003), 381
[239] Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake,* p.104.
[240] Lizanne Henderson, *Witchcraft and Folk Belief in the Age of Enlightenment: Scotland, 1670-1740,* (Basingstoke, 2016), p.96.

tool.[241] The other case is that of the mysterious Beldam (Anne) West who, in a 1645 pamphlet detailing the crimes of some of the witches interrogated by Matthew Hopkins and John Stearne, was alleged to have raised a wind that sunk the ship of Thomas Turner.[242] Thus, though Lowe's was the only male witch in our selection of pamphlets to raise storms, the crime itself was not a 'male' one and in itself was not a popular accusation against either male or female witches in England.

Having examined the types of crimes of which male and female witches were accused we see that the popular writers of the period seemingly saw little difference between the acts of which men and women were capable. Examination of these pamphlets shows that one or two men, such as John Lambe, were held to engage in the typically female crime of poisoning. Furthermore, whilst in some cases it seems that only male witches were accused of a crime, further investigation to sources outside of our selected pool show that this was simply not the case; even typically male crimes like invocations suggested above, might be practised by female witches. Though we should note that the evidence for this overlap comes from a female witch allegedly trained by one of our men, it nevertheless suggests that it was not unknown for women witches to use invocations. Fundamentally, these popular pamphlets show that men, as well as women, were quite capable of acting independently and of committing malefic acts to cause harm or death to whomever might have engendered their wroth.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has aimed to assess how male witches were perceived within the popular belief systems of early modern England. By using the popular pamphlets published during this period as an access point to analyse these beliefs, we see that, as in the

241 W.W. *A True and Just Recorde,* F6.
242 H.F. *A true and exact relation of the severall informations, examinations, and confessions of the late witches, arraigned and executed in the county of Essex*, (London, 1645), A3.

demonological treatises, male witches were represented as far from marginal players in the witch-trials that occurred. In particular it becomes apparent that contrary to what historians have long thought to be true, men were believed to be perfectly able to be independently accused of witchcraft and in cases such as those of John Palmer and John Lambe to be the instigators in luring others into their diabolic ways.[243] The pamphlets examined here have also allowed the accused men to be considered, not just as isolated examples, but also as part of a wider framework of beliefs. By comparing across the selected pamphlets and showing how authors such as Thomas Potts treated male and female witches within the same pamphlet, has re-instated male witches in the narratives from which they have been overwhelmingly excluded.

In short, male witches were, just as able as their female counterparts, to act the part of a diabolic witch. They owned familiars, made pacts with the devil and committed acts of harmful, malefic magic that resulted in death or serious harm to an individual. Furthermore, we see that learned belief, as presented in the previous chapter, had an influence on popular belief with the demonization of cunning folk such John Walsh. In the pamphlet relating to Walsh this influence is particularly visible. The interrogator's questioning moulds his confession away from the benevolent use of herbs and fairies into a diabolic tale of familiar spirits and demonic compacts. The demonization of witches is also apparent in the descriptions that the authors provide of the witches they discuss; here again it becomes apparent that both male and female witches were considered to be wholly reprehensible, and though perhaps the authors drew upon a wider and more colourful range of descriptors for women than for men, likely due to the association between witchcraft and the innately gendered crime of scolding which often went hand in hand

[243] For the idea of male witches as secondary players in witchcraft trials see especially: Barstow, *Witchcraze*, pp.24-25; and Blécourt, *The Making of the Female Witch,* 293.

with accusations of witchcraft against women. Nevertheless, it remains that these writers believed that there was nothing positive to be seen about these wretched male witches.

There is however one area in which it becomes apparent that male witches were perceived to act very differently to women. The act of engaging in sexual relationships with the devil, or their familiars, was apparently gender-specific. Though descriptions of carnal relations with the devil were common amongst the women who confessed there is no equivalent to be found in the narratives provided by accused men. Even in the one case where the male witch's familiar spirits were humanoid and female the sexual, and even intimate, element is curiously missing. As far as the people of early modern England were concerned, it would seem that male witches simply did not engage in sexual congress with demons. Even where there is evidence of illicit sexual preference such as the case of George Villier's the Duke of Buckingham's homosexual relationship with James I, it does not seem to come into consideration when accusing him of witchcraft and consorting with witches rather his voracious heterosexual and decidedly non-demonic sexuality is used as further evidence of his wickedness, something that is also reflected in the accused and convicted witch Dr. John Lambe. However, the figure of Prince Rupert shows the illicit and demonic sexual conduct could be used to both smear and satirize once political enemies. In the case of Rupert and his bestial relationship with his alleged dog familiar we see that perhaps the only time English witch beliefs could consider male witches to engage in diabolic sexual behaviour was as an example of the absurdity of superstitious fools like the Parliamentarians.

CHAPTER THREE: ACCUSATIONS

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw Europe gripped in the midst of an epidemic of witch-hunts where an estimated 90,000 men, women and children were prosecuted for witchcraft, the most intense areas of witch-hunting being concentrated in the Germanic regions of the Holy Roman Empire in which approximately half of the total trials took place.[1] Across the rest of Europe, the figures were considerably lower but still significant. Switzerland, for example, tried at least 10,000 witches whilst the Spanish and French territories of the Holy Roman Empire held another 5,000 trials.[2] In the British Isles, the figure is also estimated to be around 5,000, however, more than half of those were held in Scotland. Thus, in England, the figure is assuredly at the lower end of the scale when compared to much of the continent. Of course, estimating such figures is not an easy task; the massive gaps in the surviving archival records means that any attempt at it is, as James Sharpe suggests, 'little more than an exercise in educated guesswork'.[3] Furthermore, the sporadic nature of these records causes many regions to be vastly under-represented in any estimation. For example, though the Home Counties Assize Circuit records survive in relatively large quantities, the adjoining records of the Norfolk Circuit have largely been lost. Likewise, records for the Western Circuit do not exist before 1670 save for a few isolated references in published works such as pamphlets and treatises.[4] Therefore, any analysis of English witchcraft trials must keep in mind this situation when attempting to extrapolate conclusions on the nature of this phenomenon. With this in mind, the sources selected for study in this chapter are wide-ranging and include both legal documents and contemporary printed publications and have been gathered from a number

[1] Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* p.20; Levack's estimates have been generally accepted by historians due to his combination of hard data from trial records and allowances for missing records.
[2] Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* p.20
[3] Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.125.
[4] Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.125; Ewen II, p.439.

of archives throughout England. The main basis for the data used is provided by surviving indictments, depositions, confessions and gaol delivery rolls primarily from the assize court records, though supplementary records have been gleaned from local courts, quarter session records, the King's Bench court and the Star Chamber proceedings. Further evidence has also been gleaned from the popular trial pamphlets analysed in the previous chapter and printed tracts such as those of John Stearne and Joseph Glanvill. Amongst the selected sources, those relating to the Home Counties provide the most numerous and complete records of the witch-trials that swept across England. Moreover, thanks to the work of historians such as C. L'Estrange Ewen and J.S. Cockburn these records are also the most accessible. This is further enhanced by the work of Essex Record Office in providing a comprehensive online catalogue of all surviving court records. It is due to this availability and accessibility that the Home Counties trials make up the primary bulk of the data. However, it has also been possible to include a selection of trials from across England from the surviving archival material as well as from other printed sources. This selection from outside the Home Circuit is unfortunately limited and far from complete. Nevertheless, it includes records discovered in the archives at Cambridge, Devon, Lancashire, London, Wiltshire, Northumberland, Gloucester and Yorkshire. A full list of the records found and examined here can be found in *Appendix III,* this list constitutes, to my knowledge, the largest collection of male witches found in the English records. Unfortunately, a complete inventory of the trial records from across the entirety of England is hampered by the fragmented nature of the surviving documents, thus some of these areas are underrepresented in our sample. As James Sharpe points out, court archives not only exist for a limited number of counties but where they do exist, they often do so only in a broken series.[5] Furthermore, whilst the task of cataloguing all surviving trials from

[5] James Sharpe, 'Quantification and the History of Crime in Early Modern England: Problems and Results', *Historical Social Research,* 15 (1990), 21

England would provide a much more complete view of early modern witch-beliefs, it is unfortunately far beyond the abilities of this study. Nevertheless, the inclusion of this range of sources provides a wider framework in which to examine early modern English witchcraft than reliance on a single area alone.

Fiction in the Archives: Problems with Legal Records

The use of legal documents as a point of access to historical social analysis provides historians with a number of issues of which they must be cognizant. Indictments, the main source used in this study, present a way to provide a quantifiable analysis of patterns of accusation over a given period. Indeed, Sharpe argues that this statistical counting is 'one of the few things that can be done with them'.[6] The problem however in using this approach is that the fragmentary nature of surviving records means that the historian must be aware of what is *not* being said as much as what is. For example, the surviving records of the Home Counties are one of the most complete of all English counties, yet it is estimated that one third of the actual assize rolls are missing. Thus, any conclusions drawn from analysis of these records must consider that the whole picture is far from being presented. Furthermore, indictments are the culmination of complaints against an individual and were usually only made when the patience of the community or complainants had run out, usually after a series of petty offences and informal warnings. In witchcraft cases, this is particularly apparent as witnesses might often allude not only to the immediate problem but also to past grievances and events that may have occurred many years before.[7] Consequently, Malcolm Gaskill argues that indictments fail to tell us about the circumstances behind the crime, and the social context, that caused one person to accuse another. This information he suggests might generally be gleaned from the more

[6] Sharpe, 'Quantification', 18
[7] Sharpe, 'Quantification', 19

substantive depositions.[8] However, depositions survive in even less quantities than indictments, so tracing this information is an arduous and often unfruitful task. One must also be careful as to how to treat indictments, for although they are legal documents, and might therefore be regarded as generally more accurate than other sources, they are still constructed to fit a particular style and format that were determined by the 'legal conventions, categories and procedures' of the time.[9] Additionally, indictments tended to record only what was 'legally sufficient' and thus are potentially misleading. For example, occupations were mentioned only in general terms, whilst residency was often listed as the place where the incident occurred, even if the accused was domiciled outside the parish.[10]

Depositions and confessions must also be treated with equal caution. Once again, although these sources are legal documents, they each have their own pitfalls of which the historian must not lose sight. In the case of depositions, the primary issue comes from the process through which the document was recorded. If we look at contemporary guides for judicial procedure, we begin to see the problem. For example, in Michael Dalton's *Country Justice,* he recommends that once the deponent has given their testimony the magistrate, or justice of the peace, should 'put it in writing within two daies after the examination' and that 'only so much thereof, as shall be materiall to prove the felony' should be recorded.[11] With this approach to record keeping, there is, therefore, a high probability that the original account might have been simplified. Further, the reliance on memory to record the depositions rather than taking notes during the examination, suggests the likelihood of both omission of facts and of misremembrance. Additionally, unlike on the continent

[8] Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England,* 2nd Edition, (Cambridge, 2003), pp.21-22.
[9] Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England,* (Cambridge, 2003), p.25.
[10] Sharpe, 'Quantification', 21-22.
[11] Michael Dalton, *The countrey iustice conteyning the practise of the iustices of the peace out of their sessions. Gathered for the better helpe of such iustices of peace as haue not beene much conuersant in the studie of the lawes of this realme,* (London, 1618), p.259.

where evidence was taken by professional inquisitors, English courts often relied on 'amateur justices of the peace' who were not obliged to follow the formal rules of interrogation.[12] Thus whilst Gaskill argues that depositions are important points of access for the historian attempting to recover popular mentalities one must be circumspect concerning how they are treated.[13] Moreover, depositions, like indictments, are often the product of many years of simmering tensions between the accused, the accuser and the wider community. As a result, Levack contends, such sources are inherently suspect as to the veracity of their claims.[14] Finally, the survival rate of these documents suffers from the same inconsistency as do the indictments and in fact, depositions are most known to have been the most often destroyed documents across all of the English courts.[15] Nevertheless, as Sharpe and Gaskill argue, depositions remain one of the most fruitful sources for those attempting to examine the qualitative aspects of English witchcraft and the popular mentalities surrounding them.[16]

Like depositions, confessions are also sparse in their survival, though they are more accessible due to their presence in contemporary witchcraft pamphlets. Yet for those approaching these sources as a record of the popular and personal beliefs of the accused, confessions present some particular difficulties. Firstly, the different formats of these documents, printed and legal, each have their own drawbacks of which the historian must be conscious when considering their credibility. To begin with, the environment in which the official legal record was taken appreciably affects the integrity of what is alleged to be the voice of the confessor. It has become somewhat of a universal truth that witchcraft confessions were often given under torture, or at least the threat of torture, and therefore

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12 Malcolm Gaskill, 'Reporting Murder: Fiction in the Archives in Early Modern England', *Social History,* 23:1 (1998), 3.
13 Gaskill, 'Reporting Murder', 2.
14 Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* p.14.
15 Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England,* p.52.
16 Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England,* p.52; Gaskill, 'Reporting Murder', 2.

are untrustworthy and "contaminated".[17] In Continental witch-trials this might be true, for there torture was used to 'erode diabolic defences, weigh proofs, and discover truth'.[18] In England however, the legal system differed significantly to that of the rest of Europe in that it depended on juries to establish proof of guilt and did not employ torture as a normal part of the judicial process.[19] Does this mean therefore that the confessions of English witches are more trustworthy? Gaskill suggests that given the voluntary offering of these confessions the English examples are 'especially valid'.[20] However, we may question this assertion. Whilst judicial torture may not have been officially sanctioned in general, there is little doubt that it took place, though surely not with the same level of brutality as on the continent. It is particularly evident in the interrogations of Matthew Hopkins and John Stearne during the 1645-8 witch trials that swept the south east of England. Hopkins and Stearne openly admitted to using sleep deprivation, physical exhaustion and ordeal by water (also known as 'swimming a witch'), as a means of provoking the alleged witch to confess.[21] Further, in the 1627 *A Guide to Grand-Jury Men* Richard Bernard advocates that if the witch will not confess and 'the presumptions bee strong, then if the Law will permit […] to use torture, or to make a shew thereof at least, to make them confesse'.[22] Here Bernard is agreeing with William Perkins who, twenty years previously, defended the use of 'the racke, or some other violent meanes to urge confession'.[23] Perkins reasoned that since judicial torture was permitted in state trials, and that witchcraft was treason, albeit against

[17] Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* p.15.
[18] Malcolm Gaskill, 'Witchcraft and Evidence in Early Modern England', *Past and Present,* 198 (2008), 51.
[19] Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England,* p.24.
[20] Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities,* p.71.
[21] Gaskill, 'Witchcraft and Evidence', 52, Matthew Hopkins*, The discovery of witches: in answer to severall queries, lately delivered to the judges of the assize for the county of Norfolk,* (London, 1647), pp.5-6
[22] Richard Bernard, *A Guide to Grand-Jury Men,* (London, 1627), pp.239-40.
[23] Perkins, *Discourse,* p.204.

God rather than King, such actions could therefore be justifiably used against the suspected witch.[24]

Of course, the extent to which the guidelines of Bernard and Perkins were followed is questionable. There is certainly some evidence of, or at least the threat of, torture. For example, Gaskill presents the case of a woman from Yorkshire who was accused of witchcraft in 1646 and admitted that she confessed 'what they required' in order to avoid 'further blowes' thus suggesting that physical violence was present to a certain degree in some interrogations.[25] Beyond this, the historian must be aware of the presence of the interrogator in the confessions. They are perhaps most apparent in the early examples of confessions, such as that of John Walsh in 1566, where the questions asked were included in the record. Though it is difficult to say to what extent the questioner lead Walsh through his confession, we do see suggestions of direction through repeated questioning on the same point, in this case the possession of a familiar spirit.[26] The possibility of confessions being led by the questioner however becomes much more apparent in the case of Elizabeth Sawyer who was tried in 1621 for numerous crimes of witchcraft. In the pamphlet published by Henry Goodcole, who was also the one to whom Sawyer confessed, the list of questions asked is included. It is here that we see how Goodcole, intentionally or unintentionally, shaped her confession. Firstly, Goodcole admits that Sawyer is a 'very ignorant woman' and that he was thus forced to speak in a way that she might understand.[27] Certainly, his need to defend his questions as unusual is interesting. Secondly, her confession was made after she had been found guilty of witchcraft and sentenced to be hanged and it should therefore be considered with scepticism. Though seemingly freely given, her previous vehement pleas of innocence and

[24] Gaskill, 'Witchcraft and Evidence', 52.
[25] Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities,* p.77.
[26] Anon, *Examination of John Walsh,* A4v – A5v.
[27] Henry Goodcole, *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer, a Witch,* (London, 1621), C

refusal to confess suggests perhaps some level of coercion. Furthermore, the questions seems inherently leading: the first immediately suggests a demonic covenant with the devil, though there had been no admission to this by Sawyer during the trial and only references to the possibility of a teat that had been sucked above her fundament.[28] Thus it seems that there is some evidence of Goodcole's preconceived beliefs regarding nature of diabolic activities engaged in by witches and the moulding of Sawyer's confession to fit these beliefs. More explicit however, is the evidence found in the case of the vicar, John Lowes of Brandeston, who was caught up in the 1645 trials at Bury St. Edmunds. It was alleged by a contemporary writer some years later that those watching Lowes had:

> Kept him awake Several nights together, & ran him backwards, and forwards, ab[ou]t ye room until [he] was out of Breath. Then they rested him a little, & then ran him again; & thus they did for several Days & Nights together, til he was weary of his life & was scare sensible of what he said, and did.[29]

Following this, when he still refused to confess they swam him in the stagnant waters of the castle ditch, his floundering causing him to float, thus proving him a witch. Soon after this he began to confess to his supposed crimes.[30]

Finally, in the case of confessions reproduced in pamphlets, especially where they are the only surviving record, editing by the author is almost certain. This is particularly true of pamphlets published after 1590 when the style of writing moved from a documentary-based approach to an almost wholly narrative one. As discussed in the previous chapter, after 1590, witchcraft pamphlets tended to lean more to storytelling and sensationalism than to accuracy. Barbara Rosen suggests that this change in direction came from a change in authorship. She argues that the writers of witch pamphlets now which fell into the hands of 'amateurs or professionals writing on commission' and that they were used as a platform by ministers to justify their beliefs, rich families to protect their

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[28] Goodcole, *The Wonderfull Discoverie,* C
[29] Ewen, *The Trials of John Lowes, Clerk,* (London, 1938), p.6.
[30] Ewen, *Trials of John Lowes,* p.6.

reputations and judges to display their model procedures.[31] This use of narrative such as in *The Witches of Warboys,* (1593) and *The Witches of Huntingdon,* (1646), rather than a reliance on tangible documentary evidence akin to that found in *The Examination of John Walsh* (1566) and *A rehersall both straung and true, of heinous and horrible actes committed by Elizabeth Stile* (1579), necessitate that the historian approach these confessional records with considerably more caution than the earlier documentary pamphlets. Therefore, whilst pamphlets provide an excellent, and bountiful, repository of popular beliefs regarding witchcraft their reliability as a record of events and legal records is far more tenuous. As Marion Gibson argues, pamphlets, both documentary and narrative, may be 'equally earnest and informative' in their purpose however they can also be equally 'fragmented and biased' in their construction.[32] Thus, they should not be accepted at face value as a purely factual or coherent representation of witchcraft trials. Nevertheless, despite the problems these sources present to the historian, they remain extremely useful sources for quantitative, and to an extent, qualitative inquiry into early modern English witch-trials.

So far, in this study, we have undertaken an analysis of the prominent demonological and theological tracts published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From the study of nine major demonological texts published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we have established that there was certainly no conceptual barrier to the notion that male witches existed and were able to do harm and enter into league with the Devil. Learned beliefs regarding the types of crimes of which male witches might be capable were complex, with each author suggesting different particulars of their potential for malice. However, if we consider the treatises discussed in the first chapter as a whole we see that men were thought to have the ability to commit the same kinds of witchcraft as their female counterparts. Neverthless we may also submit that

[31] Rosen, *Witchcraft in England,* p.213.
[32] Gibson, *Reading Witchcraft*, p.214.

some kinds of magic could be associated primarily with men. Here the distinction between magic and witchcraft, outlines in the first chapter, should be reiterated. The term 'witchcraft', in this case, refers to a supernatural activity that was the result of a power provided by external forces, usually demonic in origin, with the aim of causing physical harm to the person or object it was aimed at. The word 'magic', however, refers to practices that were not necessarily intended to be harmful and were generally considered to be natural in origin. For example, the casting of 'lots', that is when men 'take upon them to search out fortune … by casting of Lots, whether it be by casting a die, or opening of a booke, or any such casuall meanes' is a practice that William Perkins associates primarily with male practitioners of magic.[33] A second example of this 'magic' can be found in the writings of Alexander Roberts, who argues that charming could also be characterized as the use of signs and phrases to effect a response such as finding a lost item, with men, who considered this type of magic to be primarily used by 'wisards'.[34] It is in Perkin's work however that we are provided with a wider basis on which to base our analysis of the legal records. Perkins contends that both men and women are able to do 'hurt […] as to strike and annoy the bodies of men, women, children and cattell with diseases, and with death it selfe: so likewise to raise tempests, by sea and by land'.[35] He also states that there are some men and women who do 'good onley […] [to] heale and cure the hurts inflicted upon men or cattell, by bade Witches'.[36] Likewise, examination of popular trial pamphlets in the previous chapter has shown that, like the members of the learned elite, lay people had little difficulty in believing men to be witches, nor in their ability to perform harmful magic. Just as Perkins declared that male witches were fully capable of the same kinds of *maleficia,* as women, so the trial pamphlets analysed here document examples of male witches harming

[33] Perkins, *Discourse,* pp.104-105.
[34] Roberts, *A Treatise,* p.70.
[35] Perkins, *Discourse,* pp.173-174.
[36] Perkins, *Discourse,* pp.173-174.

men, women, children and cattle alongside, and sometimes in partnership with, female witches. Furthermore, in the case of John Walsh we see the belief that men were capable of working as cunning folk, once more aligning popular opinions with those of the learned.[37] Combined, the beliefs represented in both contemporary popular and learned works provide a solid foundation from which to begin investigating the legal records of early modern English witch-trials.

The present chapter thus aims to examine how these beliefs, both learned and popular, were represented in the legal records of early modern English courts. Following similar lines of enquiry to the previous chapters, we will investigate the types of crimes of which the men brought to trial were accused. For example, did the accusations levelled against them fit with the dominant theological views outlined in the writings of contemporaries as discussed in chapter one or do they blur the gender lines of witchcraft attributed to men and women? This analysis shall also consider how these male witches fit within the wider historical debate that surrounds early modern English witchcraft. For example, do those who were accused fit the model of the marginalised poor outlined by Keith Thomas and Alan MacFarlane? Were those in the poorer social strata more likely to be accused and if so, by whom? Did accusations come from people within their own social level or from those above them?[38] Perhaps, as in feminist theories such as those proposed by Anne Barstow, these men were accused primarily due to a relationship with a female witch or, were they considered as witches as a result of their own reputations?[39]

MALE WITCHES ON TRIAL

For this analysis, I have compiled a sample database of 233 men spread across England. The main concentration is, as mentioned, found in Essex, Hertford, Kent, and

[37] Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh.*
[38] Thomas, *Decline*, p.86, MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.206.
[39] Barstow, *Witchcraze,* p.24.

Surrey. However, I have also found a number of trials from Chester, Devon, Lancashire, Norfolk, Norwich, Somerset, Suffolk and Yorkshire amongst others. Combined, these 233 men were accused of 338 crimes relating to witchcraft between 1546 and 1687. For the sake of simplicity, this figure of 338 takes into account cases in which more than one crime was listed in the indictment, such as the case of John Samond in 1566 where he was accused of bewitching two separate people and therefore counts them as two separate crimes.[40] Likewise, where multiple people were accused in the same indictment, the crime will be counted for each individual. For example, the case of Thomas Heather, Richard Pope, Thomas Twyford and William Williamson would be counted as four crimes rather than one.[41] In this way, each accused male is represented in the accused crimes, whilst each of the alleged crimes committed by the accused is also accounted for. As mentioned, the men in our sample come from across the whole of England and *Fig. 3.1,* shows the distribution of these crimes across the counties. As can be seen, the majority of our crimes occurred in Essex which is to be expected due to the unusual survival rate of the legal records for this county. The remaining crimes spread among the other counties are a fairly accurate representation of the survival rates of their court records. We may also note that, Essex, as well as the neighbouring counties of Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, were subjected to the witch-hunts, led by Mathew Hopkins and John Stearne, during the 1640s and this helps to account for the higher numbers in these areas. The presence of the witch-finders is apparent in the distribution of the crimes we have uncovered during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The 338 crimes were the result of 293 trials that took place between 1546 and 1681. *Fig. 3.2*, shows how these trials were dispersed during that period. The 1640s witch-hunt is evident in the sudden spike during that decade. The other

[40] Ewen I, p.177, n.1.
[41] Ewen I, p.132, n.88.

Fig. 3.1. Distribution of Crimes by Region

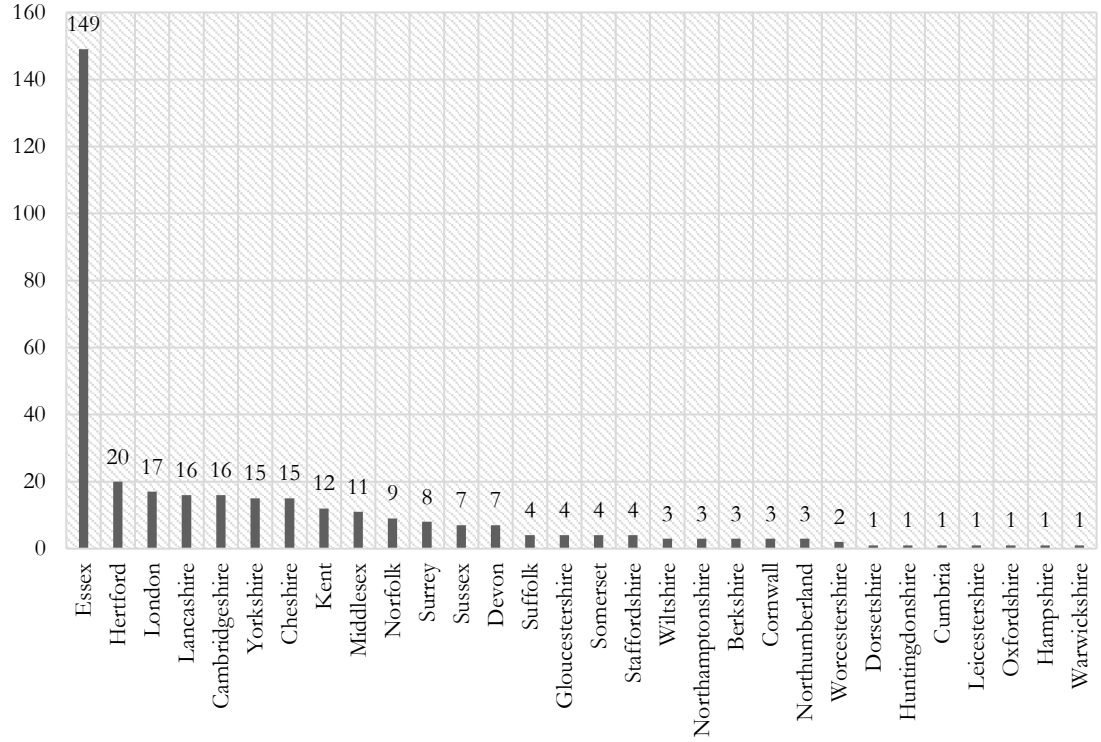
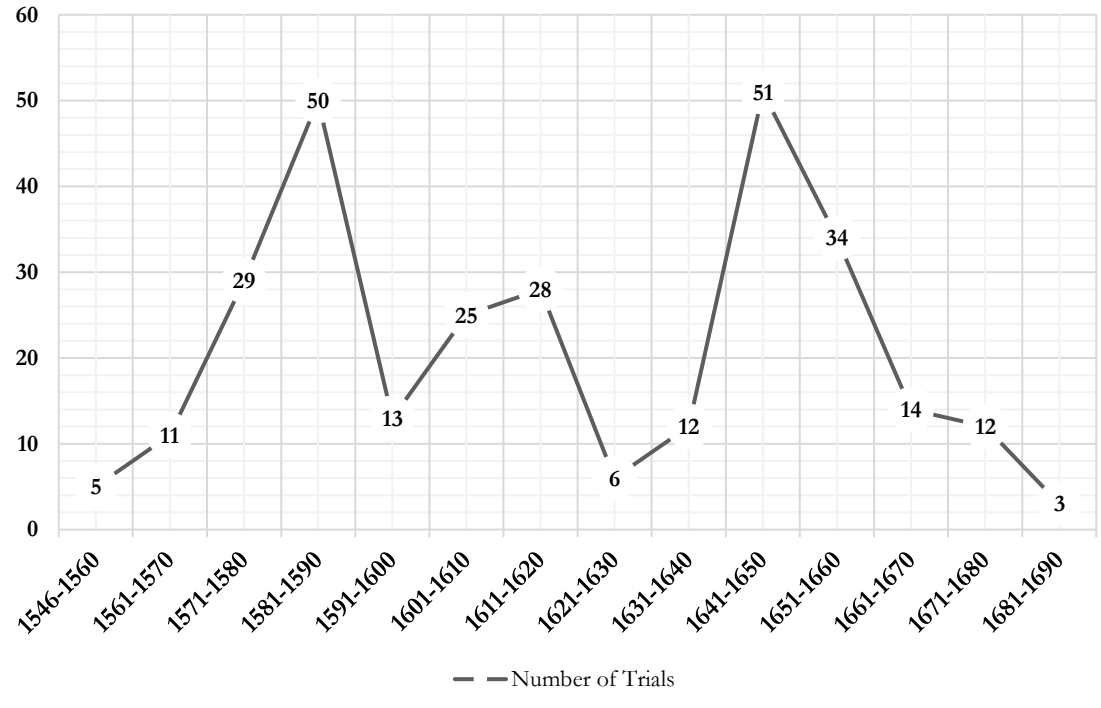


Fig 3.2. Distribution of Trials by Decade



major spike in witch-hunting occurred during the 1580s and historians have yet to fully understand the reasons behind this sudden upswing.[42] William Perkins avowed in his posthumous work *A Discourse on the Damned Art of Witchcraft* in 1608 that men and women were equally capable of performing both harmful and good magic. Yet some historians have tended to associate male witches primarily with more benign practices such as harvest and weather magic, magical healing of illness and the increase or recovery of material goods rather than *maleficium* such as causing death or harm through spells or demonic aids.[43] So do some contemporary writers such as John Stearne.[44] Others such as George Gifford and Henry Holland also consider men to be capable of performing good magic, though they acknowledge that women are equally able to be part of this group.[45]However, when we examine the 338 crimes of the male witches in our study we see that overwhelmingly they were accused of harmful magic with 112 cases of bewitching a person to cause death or harm. This is primarily due to the fact that only malefic crimes were generally brought before the courts. Though we see some examples of actions attributed to cunning folk such as finding stolen goods, these tended to be brought before the ecclesiastical courts rather than the assizes. Further, people were more likely to bring legal action against a person for causing harm or murdering a family member than for healing or helpful magical practices. *Table 3.1.* shows the number of cases brought before the courts for each kind of witchcraft. It is interesting to note that the only magic explicitly linked to cunning folk or 'good witches', that of finding lost or stolen goods, accounts for just 16 of the total crimes.[46] Furthermore, these trials were primarily held in the lower courts such as

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[42] For analysis of the issues behind these periods of intense witch-hunting see: Peter Elmer, 'Towards of Politics of Witchcraft in Early Modern England' in Stuart Clark (ed.), *Languages of Witchcraf: Narrative, Ideology and Meaning in Early Modern Culture,* (London, 2001), pp.101-118; Malcolm Gaskill, 'Witchcraft Trials in England' in Brian P. Levack (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America,* (Oxford. 2013), pp.284-295.
[43] Rowlands, 'Not the Usual Suspects?', pp.8-9.
[44] Sterne, *Confirmation*, p.11.
[45] Gifford, *Dialogue*, p.3; Holland, *Treatise*, p.16.
[46] Perkins, *Discourse* p.174.

ecclesiastical or quarter sessions rather than the assize courts. By far, the largest tally is that of those, rather ambiguously, suspected of witchcraft. The question here then becomes, exactly what were they suspected of? The use of the term witchcraft suggests that it was probably not something benign, however as discussed previously, even beneficial magic could be termed as witchcraft, particularly as the idea of the demonic compact came into play, linking all magical practices, whether good or harmful, with the devil. However, it should be noted that in the English statues beneficial magic was not a criminal act unless the practitioner conjured spirits. Rather such actions were generally tried in the ecclesiastical courts. Sadly, the indictments do not provide any specifics, thus making it impossible to determine the nature of the accused's crimes. Likewise, the suspicion of conjuration listed in these trials is also vague However as contemporary use of conjuration links the act with the raising of demons such an accusation suggests that the 27 men suspected of conjuration were, like those suspected of witchcraft, unlikely to have been

Type of Witchcraft	**# Accused**
Bewitching to death a person	67
Bewitching to death an animal	28
Bewitching to cause harm	45
Defrauding/cozening	2
Invocation	24
Destroying goods/chattels by witchcraft	14
Suspected of witchcraft	81
Suspected of conjuration	27
Consulting with witches	1
Sorcery	24
Owning a familiar spirit	6
Finding stolen goods through witchcraft	16
Bewitching beer	1
Raising storms	1

Table 3.1. Number of male witches accused of each type of crime.

considered as acting benignly. Perhaps this is where the accusation of invocation is necessary. Invocation of spirits, a charge made in 24 cases, could have been used in order to find treasure such as in the case of Richard Ball, Robert Chambers and Thomas Foster who were charged at the Essex assizes in 1577.[47]

However, the association is not exclusive as in 1611, Richard Jonn was brought before Essex Lent Sessions arraigned on charges that he did 'consult with, entertain, employ feed and reward divers evil spirits namely one called jockey, jacke and will with the intention of killing and stealing horses, sheep and other animals of their neighbours'.[48] The possession of familiar spirits, such as in the case of Richard Jonn, seems only to have become particularly problematic after the 1604 witchcraft act implemented by James I wherein he declared that one must not 'consult covenant with entertain employ feede or rewarde any evill and wicked Spirit'.[49] This explicit condemnation of possessing, feeding or using familiar spirits is an expansion on their presence in the Elizabethan witchcraft act of 1563, which simply declared that no-one should 'use practise or exercise any Invocations or Conjurations of evill and wicked Sprities': possessing a familiar spirit at that point was not illegal.[50] Thus, whilst we do see the presence of familiar spirits in witchcraft narratives, most explicitly perhaps in the pamphlets of John Walsh and Elizabeth Stiles, it is only after the 1604 witchcraft act that we begin to see men indicted solely for the crime of owning a familiar spirit.[51]

Historians of witchcraft, with a few notable exceptions, have, when they have considered men at all, tended to consider them as peripheral players in the witch-hunts, simple by-products of accusations against women. Anne Barstow, as previously noted,

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[47] Ewen I, p. 135, n.107.
[48] Ewen I, p.203, n.511.
[49] Jas 1, c.12 1604.
[50] Eliz I, c. 16 1563.
[51] Anon, *Examination of John Walsh;* and Anon, *A Rehearsall both Straung and True.*

asserts that 'most of these men' who were accused of witchcraft 'were related to women already convicted of sorcery, and thus were not perceived as *originators* of witchcraft'.[52] Likewise, John Demos in his study of New England witches contends that the majority of men accused of witchcraft were in some way related to a woman who had also been accused.[53] James Sharpe argues that 'most men accused of witchcraft were related to a female either through blood or marriage' and tended to be 'dragged in by association'.[54] Alan Macfarlane says much the same thing, stating that the majority of men accused in Essex were related to female witch.[55]

Yet when we examine the sample of male 'witches' which has been assembled for this study we see that the traditional historiographical view of men as secondary players in witchcraft trials and accusations may not be as accurate as generally accepted. Out of the 233 men accused of witchcraft between 1546 and 1683, seventy-one percent, or 166, were accused independently of women. These men were neither accused with a woman in the same indictment or trial nor were they related to a woman who had been previously accused. There is however one exception to this rule. John Samond was accused in 1572 with his wife Jane of bewitching two cows and laming one Edward Robinson.[56] However, Samond was the first of the two to be accused, with the first charge against him being brought twelve years previously during the 1560 Essex summer sessions, where he allegedly bewitched two people to death.[57] He was also indicted five times, again by himself, in 1587 for bewitching both people and animals to death.[58] His wife Joan, on the other hand, did not appear until the joint accusation in 1572, of which she was acquitted,

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52 Barstow, *Witchcraze,* pp.24-25.
53 John Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England,* (Oxford, 1982), pp.60-62.
54 Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.188; Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England,* p.83
55 Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.160.
56 Ewen I, p.126, n.55
57 Ewen I, p.117, n.1; Cockburn, *Essex Elizabeth I*, n.95, n.109.
58 Ewen I, p.158, n.241, 247, 250, 253; Cockburn, *Essex Elizabeth I*, n.1704, 1792.

nor was she charged subsequently with any other crime. Thus, it seems that in this case, John Samond was the issue rather than his wife, perhaps in a reversal of the widely held stereotype of accusation by association. Furthermore, of the remaining 67 male witches that were indicted, 25 were accused with women with whom they appear to have no familial relation. Thus, whilst almost two-thirds were accused with women, usually with their wife, (though on occasion, such as in the case of James Device, with a mother, sister or grandmother,) the idea that Barstow espouses, that male witches were always accused due to association with a female witch, may not be as evident as once thought.[59] If we delve further into the examination of male witches and their association with female witches, we begin to see other patterns emerging.

Closer examination of the 338 crimes that the 233 men in our sample were accused of provides further evidence to support the above assertion that association with a female witch as the primary motivator for accusations against male witches is not an accurate representation of the reality of witchcraft accusations. *Table 3.2,* below, provides a breakdown of the crimes that the men were charged with and of how often they were accused either independently or with a female. It quickly becomes apparent that 72% of the crimes which our male witches were accused of were committed alone, while only 28% were wrought with the aid of a woman. Such a large figure suggests that even where the man was accused with a woman, either within the same indictment or alongside them during the same trial, it was conceivable to the accusers that he could also act alone when he wished. For example, William Skelton was indicted in 1572 on three counts of bewitching a person to death, in two of these he was accused alongside his wife Mary. On the third charge, however, he alone was accused of killing Dorothy Fuller by witchcraft.[60] Likewise, Thomas Creede was accused thrice in 1652 of bewitching to death the animals

[59] Potts, *Wonderful Discovery.*
[60] Ewen I, p.124-5, n.45, 47, 48.

of two people and of destroying the goods and chattels of Thomas Ferror. In this case, he was only indicted alongside a woman on the latter charge.[61] These examples suggest that men were accused of witchcraft because their accusers believed them to be active participants in the *maleficium* rather than simply being guilty by association with female confederates. Furthermore, the results displayed in *Table3.2,* suggest that certain types of witchcraft may have been associated primarily with men. Conjuration, for example, seems to be explicitly linked to male witches, with no cases of accusations being made alongside a female witch. More often than not, the men suspected of conjuring were

	# Accused Independently	**# Accused With Woman**
Bewitching to death a person	48	19
Bewitching to death an animal	14	14
Bewitching to cause harm	25	20
Invocation	20	4
Destroying goods/chattels by witchcraft	11	3
Suspected of witchcraft	53	28
Suspected of conjuration	27	0
Consulting with witches	1	0
Sorcery	25	0
Owning a familiar	5	1
Finding stolen goods	15	1
Bewitching beer	0	1
Raising storms	1	0
Total:	**245**	**91**

Table 3.2: Table showing the number of crimes which men were accused of (a) independently and (b) with women.

charged by themselves, independent of any other reasons, either male or female. Of the twenty-seven cases of conjuration which were allegedly performed by male witches, only

[61] Ewen I, pp.240-1, n.690-92

eight men were accused jointly with others, all of whom were other men. Those accused with others are the product of only two cases. In 1581 a group of five men, William Randoll, Thomas Elks, Thomas Lupton, Ralph Spacie and Christopher Waddington, were brought before the King's Bench on suspicion of conjuring spirits to find hidden treasure.[62] Likewise, in 1604, John Walker, John Hickson and John Gilden were charged together at the Chester Assizes on suspicion on conjuration.[63] Unfortunately, most indictments do not give details about precisely what the accused were intending to conjure nor for what reason. Nevertheless, it certainly appears that, in the minds of the accusers, conjuration was primarily a male crime.

Sorcery was another crime of which men were frequently accused independently. In the twenty-five accusations of sorcery against men, none were accused alongside a woman. Furthermore, only one of these men, Benjamin Brand, was accused with a woman in another trial. Brand was brought before the Essex Quarter sessions in March 1653 along with his wife Jane on suspicion of practising sorcery.[64] The following July however, Benjamin appeared alone at the assizes on the same charge, suggesting that the bill against his wife was insufficient and that he was believed to be the instigator of the crime.[65] The idea that sorcery was a 'male' crime can perhaps be linked to its perceived origins in natural magic, as Thomas asserts, and thus with learned magicians.[66] Owen Davies' definition of sorcery as the manipulation of natural forces through 'gestures, instruments, words, incantations and talismans' also lends credence to the theory that sorcery was seen as a masculine crime.[67] Learned magicians were typically male, including

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62 Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Irleand,* Vol. IV, (London, 1808), p.1315; K.B. 27, 1275.
63 Ewen II, p.414, Chester 24, 107/4.
64 ERO Q/SR 356/18, 50, 89
65 Ewen I, p.245, n.711
66 Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic,* p.465-6
67 Davies, *Popular Magic,* p. ix.

notable examples such as John Dee and William Lilly, and used astrology, instruments as well as words to attempt to harness the natural and hidden forces of the world. Though more accepted as "legitimate" practitioners of magic, as Sharpe argues, some did find themselves vulnerable to accusations of sorcery.[68] Therefore, if we take sorcery to be the manipulation of these natural forces, through the same methods as those learned magicians, but for evil rather than benign ends, the explicit link between the accusations and the gender of the accused makes sense.

The crime of invocation, another form of learned magic also seems to have been associated with men. Twenty out of the twenty-four accusations of invocation recorded against the male witches in our sample were made against men with no relation to a female. Of the four remaining accusations, one was the case of Richard Jonn in 1611 who was accused alongside his wife Anne, whilst the remaining three were part of a large accusation in which Richard Uttley, Henry Bordman and Robert Smethehurst were brought before the Lancaster Assizes in 1633 alongside Mary Smethehurst in a joint accusation against the four.[69] This group accusation is also not an uncommon feature amongst those indicted for invocation. Eleven of the twenty accusations brought solely against men for invocation were part of made against groups of men working together. For example in 1573, Thomas Heather, William Williamson, Richard Pope and Thomas Twyford were indicted together at the Hertford Lent Sessions, whilst two years later in 1577 Robert Chambers, Richard Ball and Thomas Foster were brought before the Essex Lent session for allegedly invoking spirits 'with the intention of gaining divers great sums of money'.[70] Furthermore, the assertion that these men undertook invoking spirits for monetary gain, with thirteen of the twenty-four cases listing this as the reason for the

[68] Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England,* p.33.
[69] Ewen I, p.203, n.510-11; Ewen II, pp.408-9.
[70] Ewen I p.131, n.88; p.135, n.107.

crime, also fits the contemporary views regarding the capability of male witches, such as Perkins's assertion that men through the invocation of spirits, as well as other means, took 'upon them to search out fortune'.[71]

Finally, from the remaining crimes we see that although men were indeed accused alongside women there is little evidence to support the view that this relationship to a female witch was the *primary* reason they were accused. In the 389 crimes our male witches were indicted for, overwhelmingly they were accused independently of a female. In crimes that the above-mentioned historians have assumed to be typically feminine in nature, such as the killing of persons through witchcraft, we see that seventy-two percent of our male witches were believed to have committed such acts without the aid of a woman. This is a trend that is clearly repeated across the supernatural crimes listed in *Table 4.2.* For example, 65% of the men accused of witchcraft were accused on their own merit or reputation; whilst they might have had links to a female witch, the accusations themselves were seemingly aimed primarily at the men. Likewise, 59% of the men who were accused of causing harm to another through bewitchment did so on their own. The traditional view that men were accused of witchcraft primarily because of their association with a female witch is this thrown into doubt.

LABOURERS, HUSBANDMEN AND YEOMEN: MALE WITCHES AND SOCIAL STATUS

Many theories of early modern witchcraft have asserted the marginal nature of the witch. The social status of those accused has, as Elizabeth Kent argues, been fundamental to the way that we have understood witchcraft. Overwhelmingly, historians have tended to see witches as 'old, socially isolated and poor' people many of whom lived 'outside of the conventional hierarchies of family or household'.[72] This idea of the marginal witch

[71] Perkins, *Discourse,* pp.104-5.
[72] Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.172.

crystalized in Keith Thomas's work in which he suggested that there were 'two essential facts' about witches. First, naturally, is that they were women, the second is that they were poor.[73] The reason the poor were more likely to be accused, he asserts, is because they were more likely to find themselves in the social situation in which accusations occurred.[74] Since Thomas, numerous other historians have reiterated the idea of the poor witch. Thus Anne Barstow argues that 'in most of Europe the accused were very poor'.[75] Robin Briggs suggests that the majority of witches came from the 'dependent peasantry'.[76] Gregory Durston writes that in many cases, those accused of the crime were significantly inferior in social or economic status and were usually 'the poorest of inhabitants'.[77] However, this idea of the poor, marginal witch has primarily been applied to female witches. How then does this apply to the male witches selected for this study?

Before we begin to consider the social status of these men, it is imperative to first consider the difficulties surrounding the somewhat intangible nature of the English social order during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The indictments, as Sharpe notes, tend to record occupation only in general terms, suggesting some unreliability in their accuracy. This is particularly problematic where occupations can overlap significantly, such as husbandmen and yeomen, which despite being separate classes contained many similarities between the groups. Secondly, what constituted the various strata of society was not always coherent. For example, in the late sixteenth century, William Harrison, a Protestant clergyman and historian, wrote that the English people were divided 'commonlie into four sortes' the first of which consisted of the nobility; knights, esquires and those whom he defined as 'gentlemen'. The second strata encompassed the citizens

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[73] Thomas, *Decline*, p.523.
[74] Thomas, *Decline,* pp.566-7.
[75] Barstow, *Witchcraze,* p.26.
[76] Robin Briggs, *The Witches of Lorraine,* p.365.
[77] Gregory Durston, *Witchcraft and Witch Trials: A History of English Witchcraft and its Legal Perspectives, 1542-1736,* (Chichester, 2000), pp.97, 101.

and burgesses of England's cities, which Harrison defined through their occupation. The third sphere contained yeomen, whom Harrison defined as either freeholders of land to the value of 40s. a year, or as former gentlemen who also possessed a 'certaine preheminence and more estimation' among the common people'. Finally, the last level was made up of labourers, poor husbandmen and servants, those who had 'neither voice not authoritie in the common wealthe but are to be ruled and not to rule others'.[78] Twenty three years later in 1600, Sir Thomas Wilson divided English Society into five groups, those of nobles, citizens, yeomen, artisans and rural labourers.[79] As Keith Wrightson asserts, there was a great deal of overlap and confusion between the different criteria of rank and what made one part of a given group.[80] For example, a lesser husbandman might earn £14-£15 profit per annum compared to the richest yeomen who might enjoy an income of £100-200. In the middling ground, however, a wealthier husbandman might earn upwards of £50 whilst a smaller yeoman could earn as little as £40 per year. Likewise, the occupational position of a small husbandman and a more profitable labourer might overlap with the husbandman taking on wage labour during the year to supplement his income. Finally, artisans and tradesmen are the most difficult to place within the social structure. Wrightson argues that craftsmen 'lacked a distinct identity' as many had multiple occupations and could straddle each social class; thus one might find yeomen-craftsmen, husbandmen-craftsmen or labourers who possessed some specialist skills. Dependent on which trade they practiced craftsmen could, quite simply, belong to any social class of early modern English society.[81] In some cases, we can see evidence of this social confusion when a man was accused of witchcraft in a court over a period of years. John Samond (otherwise known as Smyth, Smythe, Sawom and Salmon) for

[78] Keith Wrightson, *English Society*, p.4.
[79] Keith Wrightson, *English Society*, p.5.
[80] Keith Wrightson, *English Society,* p.4.
[81] Wrightson, *English Society,* pp.16-18.

example was accused on five occasions between 1560 and 1587. In 1560, during his first appearance at the Essex Summer Sessions, he was listed as being employed as a beer brewer.[82] In 1570, however, upon being charged with grand larceny, he had apparently fallen to the rank of labourer.[83] Yet just two years later in 1572 he had seemingly climbed the social ladder to become a yeoman as well as having a change in trade, being listed in the second indictment as a sawyer.[84] Fifteen years after that, however, in the 1587 Essex Lent Sessions, he was once more listed as a labourer and husbandman.[85] Perhaps then Samond occupied that gray area between yeoman-craftsmen and a husbandman-labourer with specialist skills. Samond is also perhaps an example of how early modern society was one in which a person's social status could change rapidly. Famine, crop failure, natural disasters, epidemics and economic crises could cause a person to lose their labouring job or the land they possessed as a husbandman or yeoman. Such a case might be that of Thomas Heather who, at his trial in 1573 was recorded as a yeoman; however, two years later in 1575 he had apparently slid down the social hierarchy to become a labourer.[86] Yet despite these issues it may be possible to create a general idea of the social structure of early modern England. Using the contemporary writings of Harrison and Wilson as a basis this study will consider labourers to be amongst the poorest of the population, whilst husbandmen and yeomen belong to the middling ground, though we will consider husbandmen to be of a lower economic status that yeomen. Gentlemen, of course occupy the highest stratum of society. Artisans and craftsman will, for the purposes of this investigation, be considered to be part of the middling section of society.

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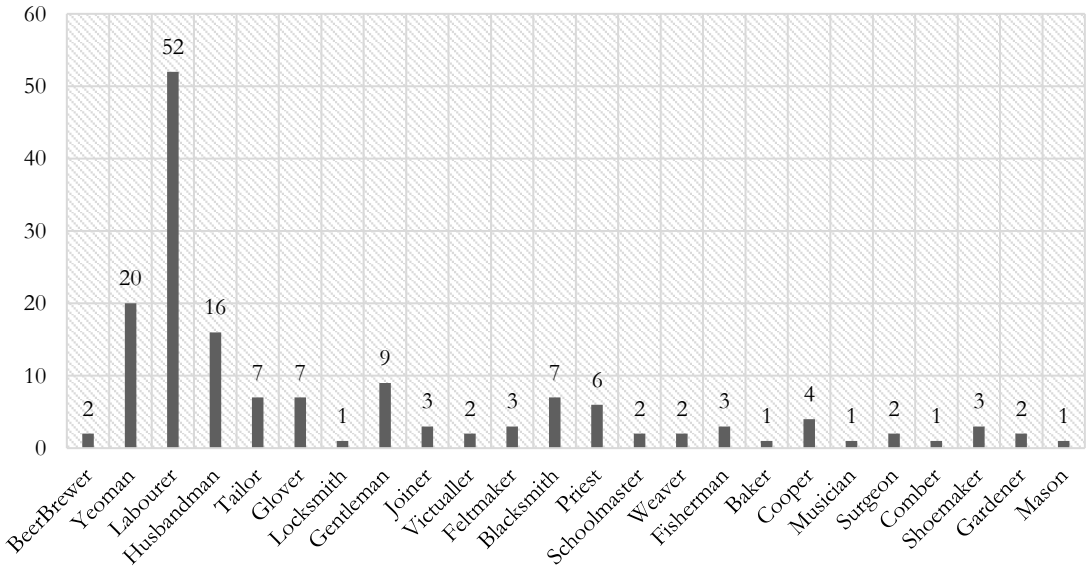
[82] Ewen I, p.117, n.1.
[83] J.S. Cockburn*, Essex, Elizabeth I*, p.74, n.423.
[84] Ewen I, p.126, n.55
[85] Ewen I, pp.158-60, n.241, 247, 250, 253.
[86] Ewen I, p.128, n.66; p.131, n.88; J.S. Cockburn, *Hereford, Eliz I,* p.2, n.29.

Of the 293 indictments that were made against our male witches, 159 record the occupations of the accused men. *Fig. 3.3.* below shows the distribution of these occupations and presents an interesting picture. Perhaps most striking of all, we see that 52 of our men, less than one third, were classed as labourers, those on the lowest rung of society. Such people, historians have estimated, would have earned on average between £8 and £12 per year when in regular employment.[87] However, the average yearly expenses for a family of five to cover the basic necessities was around £13 14s.[88] Thus even working, as Wrightson estimates, 220 days per year which would be generous for the time, the average labourer would struggle to feed his family.[89] Of course, other members of the family might have supplemented the household income; the wife might have been employed as a spinster for example and, once old enough, the children would be sent out to work where they could. Nevertheless, families of labourers would be unlikely to afford much beyond the necessities of food, clothing, fuel and shelter, and in times of economic crisis, they would have struggled significantly to meet the basic expenses. It is these

Fig 3.3. Occupations of men accused of witchcraft



[87] Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain,* (London, 2000), p.318.
[88] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities,* p.318.
[89] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities,* p.318.

people that historians have most often considered to be the group most vulnerable to accusations of witchcraft, yet they only make up 32% of our men. Husbandmen and yeomen are the next group amongst our witches and make up 11% and 12% respectively. Linked to this middling group are the artisans and tradesmen. These, by far, are the most numerous of our men with 62 indictments, 38% of the total, coming from skilled occupations. Of course, the precise economic stability of these alleged witches is difficult to pinpoint. Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, for example, suggest that individuals in trades such as those of our male witches could earn anywhere from £3 to £800 a year depending on their trade and their location, however, they concede that most earned somewhere between £40 and £80 per year.[90] Furthermore, the differences in income between the trades could be vast. Like poor husbandmen who might earn little more than labourers, craftsmen such as weavers, glovers, tailors or carpenters might also suffer from economic hardships. Patricia Fumerton argues that those in such occupations could be labelled as the 'unstable working poor', susceptible to periods of unemployment and vulnerable to 'unsettling change'.[91] Some ,like blacksmiths, might instead be men of 'substance', according to Wrightson, and earn a more livable wage especially as many in such occupations combined their skill with farming, suggesting that they might easily fall into the economic level of a regular husbandman.[92]

Perhaps the most interesting sub-set in the sample however is the final group, the gentlemen. These members of high society made up 6% of our accused, where occupations were listed. Though there are only nine of them in all, their presence argues against the idea that all types of witchcraft were a "poor person's crime". Thomas argues that those who practised witchcraft, particularly against others, did so due to their lack of

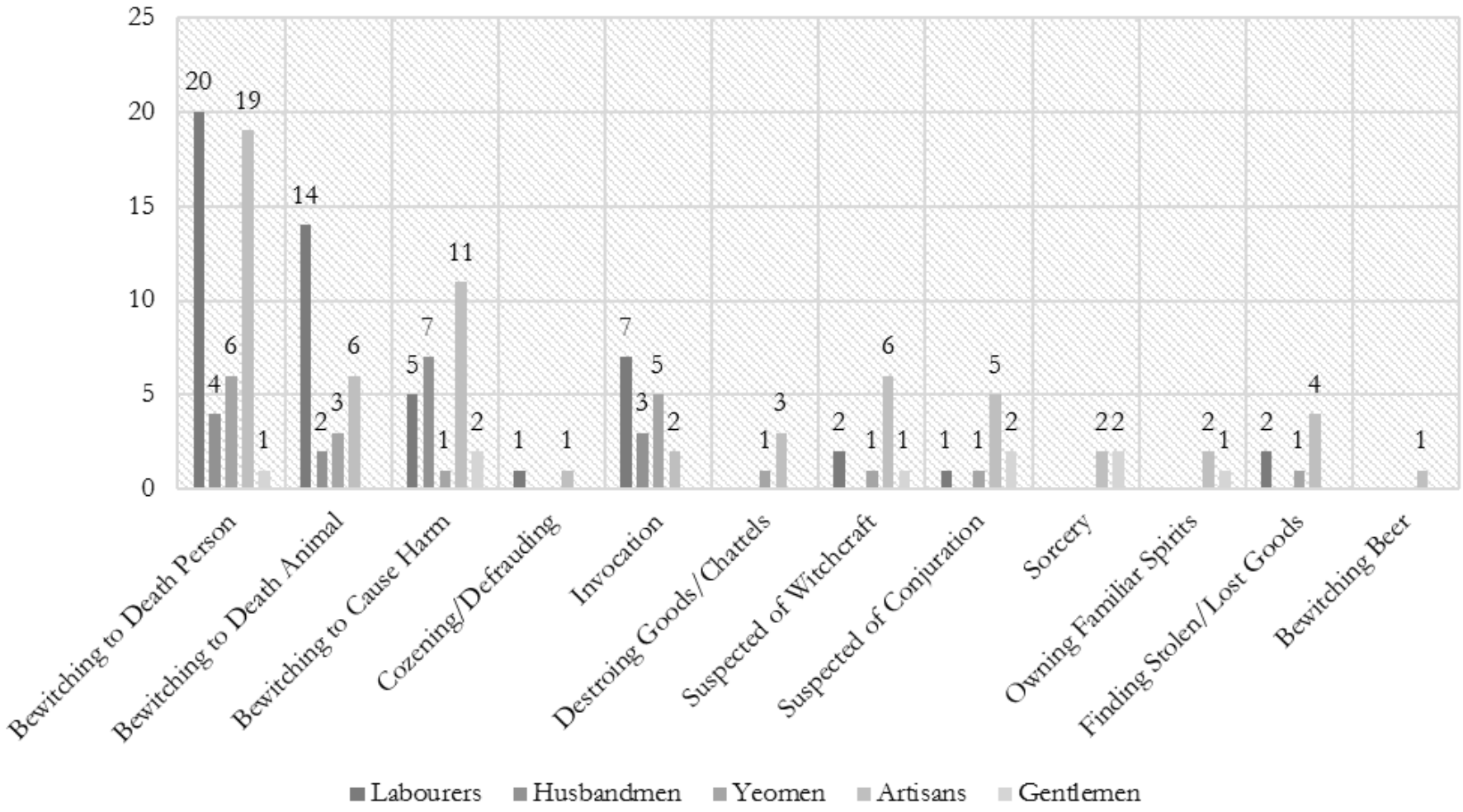
[90] Bulcholz and Key, *Early Modern England,* p.365.
[91] Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England,* (London, 2006), p.xv.
[92] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities,* p.72.

recourse to revenge through other direct means.[93] For example, bringing a legal challenge against another in a dispute would be an expensive endeavour that the poorest in society could surely not afford, and thus, Thomas argues, they turned to witchcraft as their only means of revenge. Yet gentlemen, who were estimated to have an average income of anywhere from £200 per year at parish level to as high as £10,000 per year for the very greatest of them, would have had little difficulty in pursuing other methods of revenge to settle disputes.[94] Further, the charity-refused model most certainly would not have fitted these alleged witches. So why then would these men use witchcraft? Perhaps the answer lies within the types of witchcraft they were accused of.

Fig 3.4, overleaf, shows the distribution of the 159 accusations of witchcraft between the occupations of those accused. It is here that we start to see how social status might affect the type of accusations to which one might be vulnerable. Most evident is the association of labourers with the act of bewitching a person to death. Out of the fifty-two labourers listed, twenty (46%) were accused of murdering a person through witchcraft compared with just one gentleman and six yeomen. Those in skilled occupations also have a relatively high association with this type of witchcraft with nineteen (30%) of the sixty-two being accused of bewitching people to death. Interestingly, examining these nineteen cases further we see that the persons accused tended to overwhelmingly come from the lower end of the economic scale with glovers, locksmiths and shoemakers being prominent.[95] This suggests a link between poor economic status and violent, malefic, witchcraft. However, in the case of harming a person, but not killing them, through witchcraft the link is perhaps weaker, though still tenable. Just five of our

[93] Thomas, *Decline,* p.566.
[94] Wrightston, *English Society,* p.33.
[95] MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.298; Ewen I, p. 187, n.420; p.163, n.274, 278.

Fig 3.4. Distribution of Crimes by Occupation



labourers were alleged to have harmed a person by bewitching them. Likewise, eleven craftsmen were accused of the same thing, however, they were, unlike in cases of bewitching to death, more evenly distributed through the crafts. Approximately half of the eleven came from trades such as blacksmithing or beer brewing.[96] By contrast, just one yeoman was indicted for the crime, whilst two gentlemen were accused. One of these gentlemen was the astrologer-physician Nicholas Culpeper who was accused in 1643 of causing harm through magical means to the widow Sarah Lynge.[97] This is however perhaps a case of Lynge approaching Culpeper for healing and bringing the accusation when his ministrations failed. Culpeper was well known for his herbal remedies and was one of the few prominent physicians to treat the poor and itinerant for free, an act that frequently brought him into conflict with the Society of Apothecaries.[98] Given this, it does not seem impossible that the accusation against him came not from *intentional* harm or *maleficium* but rather from simple dissatisfaction. In contrast, however, the other gentleman is one Adam Sabie who was caught up in the 1647 Ely trials conducted by John Stearne. Sabie was alleged to have possessed 'teats upon his fundament' and to have caused John Kirbie's child to become lame.[99] He also confessed to bewitching to the cattle of Kirbie. Thus, it seems that Sabie, despite his gentle status was, quite simply, considered by his neighbours to be a malefic witch. One must question, however, how much the presence of Stearne influenced this case. In no other account of gentlemen being accused of witchcraft do we see the malefic aspect emerge in such detail. On the whole, the most prominent group associated with harming through magical means, based on percentages, is the husbandmen with 43% of those listed having been indicted for such actions. The question here is what kind of husbandmen were accused of this crime. As noted above, like others of the

[96] Ewen I, p.126, n.56; EDR E12 n.12-12v.
[97] *Middlesex Session Rolls,* vol. III, p.85.
[98] Olav Thulesius, *Nicholas Culpeper: English Astrologer and Physician,* (London, 1992), p.48.
[99] EDR E12 1647/17.

middling class there could be a vast disparity in income across the group. Sadly, the trial records do not provide enough information to determine if those accused were poor husbandmen or more successful ones. All told, the idea of witchcraft being linked primarily to the poorest in society does seem to have some merit, when applied to violent means of revenge such as death and harm; however, it was by no means exclusive, with men from across the spectrum being accused of harming others through witchcraft and sorcery. In other cases, the divide between types of witchcraft and occupation is rather more apparent. In this case, if we consider the crime of invocation it becomes evident that the low to middling group were far more likely to be accused of 'invoking evill spirits'. In the case of the two tradesmen accused of this act we see that one, William Drury was a tailor, and in another trial where he was accused of pig stealing, was listed as a musician.[100] Drury's multiple occupations then seem suggestive of a relatively low economic status; as noted above, those in lower economic professions such as tailors might practice more than one trade in order to survive. Likewise, Thomas Barker was said to have been a surgeon in his quarter session presentment for invocation.[101] However, at the assizes two months later he was recorded as being a labourer, indicating that he was almost certainly a poor craftsman.[102] Similarly, in the case of the yeoman Thomas Heather, when indicted two years later, once more for invocation, he was listed as a labourer suggesting that he either belonged to the lower class of yeomen or suffered through difficult financial times, perhaps caused by the expenses incurred during his time in gaol following his first conviction.[103] Either way, there is a clear link between invocation and lower economic status. On the other hand, the charge of sorcery seems to be a crime of the more prosperous with no labourers or even husbandmen accused of engaging in the act. Two

[100] Brit. Lib., Harl. MS. 829 ff.175-7.
[101] ERO Q/SR 65/2,3.
[102] J.S. Cockburn, *Essex, Eliz I,* p.166, n.972.
[103] Ewen I, p.128, n.66; p.131, n.88.

gentlemen, however, were accused of practising sorcery: Robert Parker in 1613 and Robert Conyers in 1657.[104] Of the two craftsmen accused of being sorcerers, one was a blacksmith and the other a priest, suggesting some economic stability.[105] Likewise, those only suspected of some form of sorcery tended to come from the middling/high strata of society, though there is less of a strict division than in cases of sorcery. There might be another barrier to poorer men entering into practices of sorcery, that of literacy. Gentlemen, craftsmen and yeomen were more likely to be educated and literate, even those in poorer occupations such as weavers and tailors were probably literate to some degree. As sorcery has been defined as the use of gestures, words, instruments and incantations in order to manipulate natural forces for evil means, the ability to read in order to perform rituals or spells might well be of some import, thus excluding the labourers and other poor witches. Nevertheless, it seems that when we look closely at who was accused of what crimes there is evidence to suggest that low economic status might be an indicator of vulnerability towards accusations of violent witchcraft. However, this link is not explicit as yeomen, craftsmen, and gentlemen were all accused of committing *maleficium* as well.

Following on from the economic and social status of the accused witch, a further aspect of the dynamics of witchcraft accusations is the social status of the alleged victim. Thomas asserts for example that the witch had to be 'socially or economically inferior to her supposed victim'.[106] This is something that Sharpe concurs with in his analysis of Essex indictments against women, stating that the alleged victims of witchcraft demonstrated, on average, a higher social profile than those they accused. He argues that 'those accused of witchcraft were most likely to be wives of labourers, those accusing them yeoman farmers'.[107] This idea of the accuser, or supposed victim, possessing a higher social status

[104] *North Riding Record Society,* vol. V, p.259.
[105] *Lancashire Archives:* QSB 1/102; *Gloucester Archives:* G/DR/6
[106] Thomas, *Decline*, p.566.
[107] Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England,* p.37.

than those whom they accused also appears in contemporary accounts of witchcraft. George Gifford, for instance, declares that:

> The poore old witch, pined with hunger, goeth abroad vnto some of her neighbours, and there begges a little milke which is denied. Shee threatneth that she will be euen with them. Home shee returneth in great fury, cursing, and raging, Forth shee calleth her spirite, and willeth him to plague such a man. Away goeth hee. Within few howres after the man is in such torment, that he can not tell what hee may doe.[108]

Likewise, Gaskill notes the example of the bishop of Norwich who, in 1688, spoke of a gentlewoman whose long-running illness was attributed to a 'poore begging woman' who the woman's servant had refused aid.[109] Thus it seems that the idea of a socio-economic imbalance, in favour of the accuser, between the witch and their victim has roots in contemporary learned belief as well as in the court records. For example, of our sample of male witches, seven were accused by a person of a higher social class than themselves, such as the labourer William Skelton who was accused in 1572 of bewitching to death Dorothy Fuller, the wife of a yeoman.[110] During the same trial, he was also accused of bewitching to death the sailor John Churchman.[111] The same occurred with William Litchfield, a labourer, who was indicted in 1650 for bewitching to death a black cow belonging to the yeoman William Halfehead.[112]

However, more recently some historians, such as Edward Bever, have begun to assert that whilst some accusations likely stemmed from conflict between the poor and their better-off neighbours, the majority 'involved people of roughly the same station'.[113] Brian Levack reaches a similar conclusion stating that 'many cases of witchcraft arose out

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108 George Gifford, *Subtill Practices,* G3.
109 Malcolm Gaskill, 'Witchcraft and Neighbourliness in Early Modern England' in S. Hindle, A. Shepard and J. Walter (eds.) *Remaking English Society: Social Relations and Social Change in Early Modern England,* (Woolridge, 2013), p.217.
110 Ewen I, p.123, n.45.
111 Ewen I, p.125, n.47.
112 Ewen I, p.236, n.672.
113 Edward Bever, 'Witchcraft, Female Aggression, and Power in the Early Modern Community', *Journal of Social History,* 35 (2002), 958.

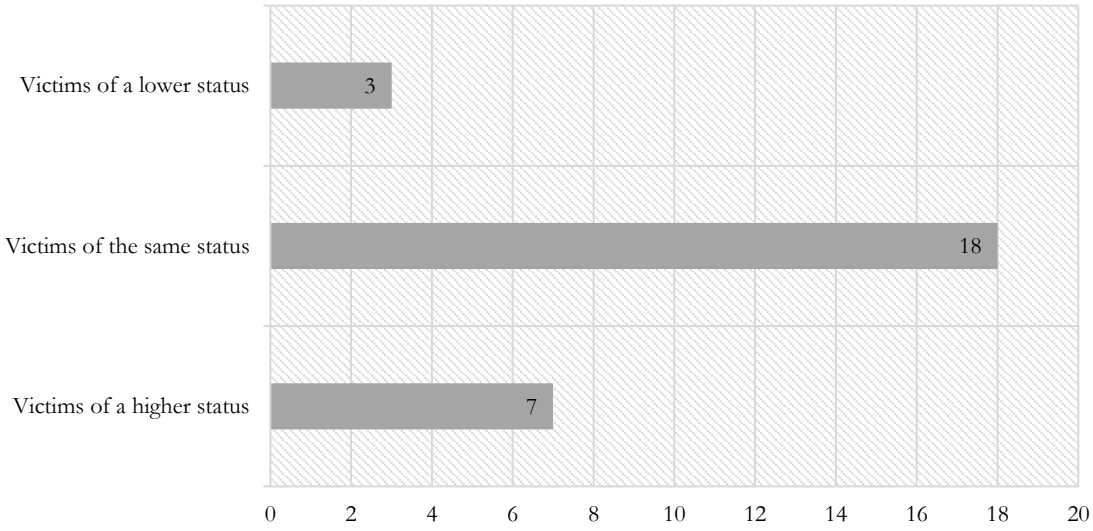
of similar socio-economic circumstances'.[114] Whilst these studies have been primarily focused on Continental trials, Malcolm Gaskill and Elizabeth Kent have found similar results in the English trials.[115] Yet, determining the social and economic nuances of witchcraft accusations is difficult, primarily due to the dearth of information available. As noted above, the recording of details such as occupations were often omitted, and where such details were included they might not be entirely accurate. The same omission is present in the recording of details regarding the alleged victims of the witches' malice but to a far greater extent. Out of the 159 indictments that list the accused's occupation only twenty-eight also include the occupation of the victim. Thus, extracting a picture of the socio-economic relationships between witch and accuser is difficult and difficult to apply to general theories of witchcraft accusations. Nevertheless, it is clear that the evidence supplied by our sample of male witches appear to support more recent theories that accusations tended to come from within similar social groups.

Fig 3.5. illustrates the social status of the accused compared to the social status of their victims or accusers. As we can see, the majority of accusations against our male witches came from people from within their own economic group. Particularly prominent in this group are the husbandmen, who account for four of the twenty-eight indictments of witchcraft, three of these accusations concern the husbandman Richard Greenhalgh of Edgeworth in Lancashire. Greenhalgh was brought before the chancery court at the castle of Lancaster in 1671 on three charges, two of bewitching a person to death and one of bewitching to cause harm. In each case, his victim or accuser was another husbandman or his family.[116] The remaining case was that of John Samond, on this occasion listed as a

[114] Levack, *Witch-Hunt in Europe,* p.135.
[115] Malcolm Gaskill, 'Witchcraft in Early Modern Kent: Stereotypes and Background to Accusations' in J. Barry, M. Hester, G. Roberts (eds.), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief,* (London, 1996), p.284; Kent, 'Masculinity and Male Witches', 71-72.
[116] Ewen II, p.412;

husbandman, who was indicted in 1587 for bewitching to death a cow belonging to fellow husbandman Symon Francis.[117] Others, such as the gentleman Stephen Trefulback

Fig 3.5. Victims and their social status compared to the accused witch.



were accused by their peers too. Trefulback was brought before the courts in London on the accusation that he had 'provoked the gentleman George Southcoate to the 'unlwafull love' of Eleanore Thursby through witchcraft.[118] Similarly, the yeoman Edmund Mansell was accused by Edward Royden, also a yeoman, twice in 1584, for allegedly causing him to languish for two and half years and for destroying his barn and chattels through witchcraft.[119] However, labourers seem to have been the group for whom most accusations came from those in a higher social position with more than half of their victims or accusers being from a higher social group. The remaining three include the accusations against the yeoman Richard Uttley who, abetted by Henry Bordman, Robert Smethehurst and Elizabeth Semthehurst with whom he had been accused of invocation, was accused of bewitching to death Richard Ashton and practising sorcery upon his father

[117] Ewen I, p.160, n.253.
[118] *Middlesex Sessions Rolls,* vol. I, p.197; The use of love-magic by male witches was relatively common in England and unlike continental beliefs there does not appear to be a particularly gendered division for practitioners of such magic; see Davies, *Popular Magic,* pp.172-4.
[119] Ewen I, pp.154-5, n.224, 225.

Ralph Ashton.[120] The Ashton (Assheton) family were prominent members of the gentry during this period being the Barons of Middleton. Ralph Ashton, for example, was later commander-in-chief of the Lancashire forces under the commonwealth as well as a member of the long-parliament.[121] Thus for him to be the subject of an occult attack by someone so very below his standing was unusual. Unfortunately, there is little information on this case: why would a yeoman undertake bewitching not one, but two members, of an extremely powerful family? There are examples of such cases in other witchcraft trials, such as the Witches of Warboys trial in which the poor Samuel family allegedly attacked and tormented the children of Robert Throckmorton, squire and close friend of Sir Henry Cromwell.[122] Despite the evidence in the Warboys case being much more detailed and informative than that which survives for Uttley's trial, there still seems to be little explanation of why witches from considerably lower economic levels would target those in positions of substantial power.

Socio-economic problems are far from being the chief reason that witchcraft accusations were made against people within the community, nor were such accusations often as spontaneous as they might seem from trials. Historical studies of witchcraft in early modern England, and indeed Europe as a whole, have long shown that those accused of witches tended to have long established bad reputations amongst their neighbours. Edward Bever, for example, asserts that reputation was the social attribute most linked with suspicion rather than age, marital status or class.[123] Likewise, James Sharpe argues that a long-standing reputation as a witch was a familiar theme in English

120 Ewen II, p. 408-9.
121 Edward Baines, *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster,* vol. II, (London, 1836), pp.595-7
122 Anon, *Witches of Warboys*.
123 Edward Bever, *The Realities of Witchcraft and Popular Magic in Early Modern Europe: Culture, Cognition and Everyday Life,* (Basingstoke, 2008). p.47.

witchcraft trials.[124] Certainly, amongst female witches, particularly in printed popular literature, a reputation for witchcraft and other unsavoury behaviour, spanning years, is a common trope. A particular example of this would be the women named in the Pendle trials. Elizabeth Southerns allegedly had a reputation spanning at least twenty, possibly forty, years, whilst Anne Chattox admitted to sealing a covenant with the devil fourteen years previously.[125] The reputations of these two witches followed their children too, with Elizabeth Device, daughter of Elizabeth Southerns, and her children Alice and James, all being suspected and accused of various kinds of witchcraft.[126] Another case is that of Joan Cunny, mentioned in the 1589 pamphlet *The Apprehension and Confessions of Three Notorious Witches,* Cunny had allegedly learned her craft from one Mother Humfrye twenty years before her trial, during which time she confessed to sending her two spirits to hurt numerous people and cause much mischief. She was also alleged to have lived 'very lewdly'.[127]

However, though these women evidently had bad reputations as problematic members of the community either because of suspicions of witchcraft or through other crimes, was this also true of the men who were accused? Clearly, as we have demonstrated above, men accused of witchcraft were not, as thought, accused simply through association of with a female witch but rather in their own right. Do these male witches, then, conform to this idea of being a problematic member of the community? There is certainly evidence to suggest that men were accused because of a long-standing reputation amongst their neighbours and a history of conflict within the community. This is particularly evident in Malcolm Gaskill's analysis of the New Romford witch, William Godfrey, who was accused

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[124] James Sharpe, 'The Devil in East Anglia: The Mathew Hopkins Trials Reconsidered', in J. Barry, M. Hester, G. Roberts (eds.), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief,* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.243-44.
[125] Potts, *Wonderful Discovery,* B4, C2v, D3.
[126] Potts, *Wonderful Discovery,* B4, C2v, D3.
[127] Anon, *Apprehension and confession,* A3-A4v.

in 1617 of a number of malefic acts against his neighbours. In Godfrey's case, suspicion against him could be traced back several years. In 1609 for example, his then tenants, John and Sarah Barber, suspected him of being the cause of the strange occurrences in their house; their suspicions escalated until they accused him of attempting to use his familiar spirit to carry away their newborn child.[128] By 1612, Godfrey's new tenants, Margaret and William Holton, likewise considered him to be responsible for odd events such as unusual noises and ruined laundry. Once more their suspicions culminated in accusations that he bewitched their one-year-old son to death.[129] Furthermore, Godfrey and, by extension, his family, had somewhat of a reputation within the community for being irascible and quick to violence or threats and well as a reputation as thieves. Witnesses deposed for example that Godfrey's daughter had stolen a lamb in 1614 whilst Godfrey himself was similarly suspected by William Clarke. Others regaled the court with accounts of how Godfrey and his family had threatened them: the tenants John and Sarah Barber, for example, stated how he had threatened them when they ended their tenancy. Clarke also told how when he and others to remove Godfrey's ducks from his property, his daughter Jane had declared that 'they should repent it and that they would be quit with them for it'.[130] Thus by the time of his trial Godfrey had a long-established reputation as a problematic member of the community and was believed to be responsible for the misfortunes of a number of people. However, Godfrey's case is unusual, purely for its surviving detail.

Such rich details rarely do exist for our male witches; however, it is evident that at least some of our accused had reputations that spanned years. The case we can reconstruct in most detail is that of the vicar John Lowes. The subject of two pamphlets as well as a number of accusations brought against him both for witchcraft and other disruptive and

[128] Gaskill, 'The Devil in the Shape of a Man', 153-4.
[129] Gaskill, 'The Devil in the Shape of a Man', 154-5.
[130] Gaskill, 'The Devil in the Shape of a Man', 163-4, 154, 152.

even violent behaviour, there is no doubt that Lowes was a problematic member of his community. In the *The Arraignment of Eighteene Witches* pamphlet published in 1645, Lowes was said to have, and confessed to having, committed a wide variety of malefic crimes such as bewitching to death the child of Nathaniel Man, and sending his imps to sink a ship so that they killed all on board 'making fourteen widows in a quarter of an hour'.[131] However, his conflict with the community had started many years before. During his time in Brandeston, of which he became incumbent during the last years of 1590, Lowes had entered into many skirmishes with his neighbours and earned the reputation as a 'common barretor', prone to bringing lawsuits against various persons for malicious reasons.[132] Furthermore, he was also alleged to have 'most inviously plagued and molested his neighbours'.[133] Lowes had also previously been the subject of another pamphlet in 1642. *A Magazine of Scandall* detailed how Lowes operated, regaling how he enticed a tailor to his home on a Sunday to fix his trousers and then proceeded to 'cite[d] him to the Court' on the basis that it was not 'lawfull to mend britches on the sabbath day'.[134] Such actions, if genuine, had surely not endeared him to his neighbours. Furthermore, the pamphlet mentions that Lowes had previously been 'vehmently suspected of witchcraft' and had been twice indicted and once arraigned on such charges.[135] These accusations came about in 1615 when one Jonas Cooke alleged that Lowes had bewitched to death his daughter and attempted to harm his son. Furthermore, he was arraigned for attempting to poison the son of a gentleman at Framlingham.[136] Thus Lowes, by the time of his trial in 1645 had a long history of animosity within the parish of Brandeston, and perhaps the arrival of

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131 Malcolm Gaskill, *Witchfinders: A Seventeenth Century English Tragedy,* (London, 2005), p.108.
132 Ewen, *Trials of John Lowes, Clerk*.
133 Gaskill, *Witchfinders,* p.109
134 Anon, *A magazine of scandall. Or, a heape of wickednesse of two infamous ministers, consorts, one named Thomas Fowkes of Earle Soham in Suffolk, convicted by law for killing a man, and the other named Iohn Lowes of Brandeston, who hath beene arraigned for witchcraft, and convicted by law for a common barrettor,* (London, 1642), A3-A3v.
135 Anon, *A Magazine of Scandall,* A3v.
136 Gaskill, *Witchfinders,* p.109.

John Stearne was all the community needed to solidify their suspicions into successful action.

Like Lowes, another of our accused male witches, John Samond also had a history with his neighbours. Though Samond's case lacks the detail of Lowes we are able to trace, through trial records Samond's long-standing reputation as a witch and within his village of Danbury. Samond's appearance in the courts began in 1560 when he was brought before the Essex Summer assizes on the suspicion of bewitching to death two people.[137] This trial sparked a continual cycle of accusations and acquittals that spanned twenty-seven years until his eventual execution in 1587. Samond was brought before the courts on nine charges of various witchcraft during this time: in four cases he was accused of bewitching a person to death, whilst on two occasions he was charged with causing harm to a person. The final three cases were accusations of bewitching to death various cattle.[138] Besides his reputation as a witch, Samond had another aspect to his un-neighbourly behaviour. In 1570 he was brought before the assizes once again. This time, however, he was charged with grand larceny where it was alleged that he had stolen ten lambs and four sheep from Henry Bredges and well as ten sheep from Simon Hoode. In this case, he was found guilty but managed to plead benefit of clergy and so to escape execution.[139] We do not know the circumstances before 1560 that led to the initial suspicion of Samond as a witch, yet the continual accusations that plagued him for twenty-seven years before his eventual execution, as well as his conviction for theft are evidence that Samond had a contentious and volatile relationship with his neighbours.

Lowes and Samond are perhaps the most easily traced examples of male witches with long-standing reputations amongst their neighbours. Lowes being the subject of

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137 Ewen I, p.117, n.1.
138 Ewen I, p.126, n.55, 5; pp.158-159 n.241, 247, 250; ERO Q/SR 101/50.
139 Cockburn, *Essex Eliz I,* p.74, n.423.

multiple publications and Samond being the only example to have such a long history in the courts. Yet it is possible to trace other male witches through the courts, suggesting long-standing suspicion within the community of being a witch. For example, Edwin Haddesley of Willingale Doe was accused in 1606 of being part of a group that had stolen deer and engaged in a brawl at the park of Lord Morley: in his trial, Haddesley is described as a 'common conjurer'. Surprisingly, during the investigation into his supposed crimes he had allegedly offered to use his 'magicke glass, or familiar and conjuring glasse' to find the actual thieves, in order to secure his innocence.[140] A year and a half later, however, Haddesley found himself in front of the assizes judges on suspicion of bewitching two people, one to death whilst the other was wasted and consumed.[141] Others such as Stephen Hugrave (or Ingrave) and his wife Alice were accused over a period of three years of various crimes in the lower court before being brought before the assizes. Like others, Stephen Hugrave was not only suspected of being a witch but also of being a 'common brawler' and like Lowes, was problematic amongst the community, being declared as a 'sower of discorde between neighbours'.[142] Both Stephen and his wife were sentenced to perform penance. Ten years later in 1594, Stephen and Alice were brought in front of the assizes on three charges of witchcraft. Two charges included the bewitching to death of animals belonging to John Smithe and Thomas Clarke whilst the third was the bewitching to death of Margaret Stanton.[143] Thus it seems their previous suspicion of witchcraft had followed them and culminated ten years later in serious accusations. In another case, reminiscent of the Pendle witches, Arthur Bill was charged with witchcraft in 1612. In the pamphlet dedicated to the witches tried in Northamptonshire in that year, it was declared

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140 MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.77; Star Chamber 8 58/5.
141 Ewen I, p.199, n.488, 489.
142 MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.288.
143 Ewen I, pp. 181, n.391, 392; MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p. 263; Cockburn, *Essex Eliz I,* p.417 n.2523.

that Bill was 'borne of parents that were both witches' and was likewise considered to be a 'wretched poor man'.[144]

Others had reputations amongst the community for different reasons. Cunning-folk were an integral part of medicine in the early modern period, providing, for example, healing for those believed to be bewitched, as well natural illnesses. Further, they were also consulted on issues such as finding stolen goods and identifying the thieves.[145] However, though they had a place in popular belief, contemporary demonological and theological writers had different opinions on cunning-folk. These writers believed them to have obtained their alleged powers from demonic sources, arguing that many cunning folk, were, in fact, more pernicious and dangerous than malefic witches, for they enticed those who visited them for help into the hands of Satan.[146] This idea becomes especially prominent following the witchcraft acts of Elizabeth I whose main target, despite making provisions for those who harm by witchcraft, that is malefic witches, appears to be cunning-folk. They make explicit mention for example of those who take upon them 'by witchcraft, enchantment, charm or sorcery, to tell or declare […] where goods, or things lost or stolen should be found' a particular feature of cunning-folks supposed abilities.[147] We certainly begin to see more of these cunning-folk appearing in the local courts during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, John Lock was presented at the Essex quarter sessions in 1653 for trying by 'witchcraft, inchantments, charmes and sorceries' to discover lost goods.[148] Likewise, Benjamin Brand and his wife were presented in the same year for similar actions.[149] Others were tried in the ecclesiastical courts, which

144 Anon, *The Witches of Northampton-shire,* Cv.
145 Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.67.
146 Perkins, *Discourse,* p.176*;* Bernard, *Guide to Grand Jury-Men,* A5v; Cooper, *Mystery,* p.4; Gaule, *Select Cases,* pp.30-31.
147 Eliz I, c. 16 1563.
148 ERO Q/SR 355/104, 119.
149 ERO Q/SR 356/18, 50, 89.

were more likely to deal with such cases. One such man was one Carter of Barking who was declared to be 'a cunning man' in 1595 charged with trying to 'tell where lost good were'.[150] There were also cases where the accused had allegedly tried to heal someone through witchcraft, such as Margery Skelton, wife of William Skelton who was tried for bewitching to death three people in 1572.[151] In 1566 Margery was tried before the courts for supposedly healing women and children through 'prayinge of her prayers' and herbal remedies such as nut tree leaves and sage leaves.[152] Margery however was one of those unfortunates whose reputation as a cunning woman quickly became that of a witch. She was tried, and executed alongside her husband, for bewitching to death two people and harming another.[153] The question is then how did these cunning-folk suddenly become witches? Owen Davies suggests that cunning folk were particularly vulnerable to accusations of witchcraft when their work involved healing others either from cases of suspected bewitchment or natural sickness. In cases where the cure failed, or the patient became worse following their visit then accusations of the cunning-person bewitching them again were likely to come forward.[154] Davies, however, argues that it was primarily cunning-women that were vulnerable to this shift in reputation.[155] This is perhaps the case; certainly, there are a number of well-known examples of female witches who had initially been consulted for healing, such as Ursula Kemp of the St Osyth witches who had healed Grace Thurlow from 'a lameness in her bones'. However, when Thurlow refused to pay her debt of twelve pence to Kemp, who then threatened to get even, her lameness apparently returned, and Kemp was subsequently accused of bewitching her.[156] Yet, it is

150 MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.284.
151 Ewen I, pp.124-5, n.45, 47, 48.
152 MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.279.
153 Ewen I, p. 125, n.46, 47, 48.
154 Davies, *Popular Magic,* p.13.
155 Davies, *Popular Magic,* p.13.
156 Anon, *A True and Just Record,* A2r-A2v.

important to note that there are also cases of this souring of reputations occurring with cunning-men.

One such case is that of Edward Mason, a yeoman of Great Bardfield in Essex who first appears in the ecclesiastical courts of Colchester in October 1585, where he is accused of practicing charms to cure a fever. He was cautioned in this case and dismissed.[157] He appeared again two years later in October 1587, this time simply listed as being a 'sorcerer' and his case was deferred to the next court which was to occur a month later. By this point, however, he had been referred up to the assizes.[158] In March the following year, Mason was brought before the Essex Lent assizes and charged with invoking evil spirits with the intention of 'gaining divers sums of money' alongside one William Bennet.[159] Interestingly Bennet does not appear to have been mentioned in any of the legal proceedings before the assize trial. Mason, however, appears to have had a clear reputation as a cunning-man. Indeed, man another tried before the ecclesiastical court, William Asplin, who was charged with telling fortunes and giving out charms to cure the ague, was alleged to have got the charm from Mason.[160] That Asplin had consulted Mason for healing charms suggests that he was well known within the community, more than likely in a positive light. There are few examples of male witches consulting other male witches in the records collected here. For example, John Walsh allegedly learned his arts from his master Thomas, whilst one Edmund Hunt brought before the Maldon Borough Court in 1591, confessed to having consulted one Thomas Collyne for help in searching for lost treasure. Collyne then suggested that Hunt consult the infamous Dr. Dee for further aid. Hunt was last alleged to have 'parchment with magical drawings on it.'[161]

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157 MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.288.
158 MacFarlane, *Witchcraft*, pp.288-289.
159 Ewen I, p.161, n.267.
160 Ewen I. p.288.
161 Macfarlane, *Witchcraft,* pp.297-8.

Others such as Thomas Heather, William Williamson, Richard Pope and Thomas Twyford as well as Robert Chambers, Richard Ball and Thomas Foster were charged as a group working together in their conjurations and witchcrafts.[162] This may therefore suggest that male witches were perhaps more likely to seek out or consult with other male witches or magical practitioners for aid. However, it is also possible that this was more to do with the gendering and separation of social spheres rather than any explicit gendering of witches themselves. This is particularly reinforced by the fact that a number of male witches were involved with female witches either as accomplices or teachers.

However, returning to Mason, it was his invocation of spirits that saw him crossing the line into illegality, thus falling foul of the Elizabethan statute, in which conjuration of spirits for any reason was punishable by death.[163] Mason's case is reminiscent of the earlier 1566 pamphlet dedicated to John Walsh, the Dorsetshire cunning man who was pressed to confess the diabolic origins of his powers. In both cases, it seems that their positive reputation as healers had morphed into something potentially diabolic. Likewise, Nicholas Culpeper, the astrologer/physican mentioned above, whilst never brought before the courts prior to the accusation of causing harm through witchcraft, was a well-known physician who provided herbal remedies to those in need from his apothecary. Thus, the accusation that he bewitched Sarah Lynge so that she 'wasted away' suggests a reputation gone sour, possibly through his inability to cure her ailment.[164]

CONCLUSION

This chapter has sought to analyse how the men accused of witchcraft in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were represented in the legal records. By using surviving documents such as indictments, deposition and confessions, as well as

[162] Ewen I, p.132, n.88.; p. 135, n.107.
[163] Eliz I, c. 16 1563
[164] *Middlesex Session Rolls*, vol. III. p. 85.

contemporary printed publications, we have seen that men seemingly shared many of the same characteristics that historians have generally ascribed to female witches. In particular, it becomes apparent that amongst their neighbours, and within the judicial and legal structures of the period, men were considered to be able to work harmful magic against others and frequently did so. For example, 54% of the indictments against male witches contained accusations that the accused had bewitched a person to death, caused them harm through such means or bewitched livestock. Some male witches such as John Samond had allegedly harmed numerous people over almost thirty years. Furthermore, their association with negative kinds of magic such as sorcery reinforces the fact that many clearly believed in their malefic capabilities.

The case of John Samond also shows that like their female counterparts, men accused of witchcraft often had long-established reputations as problematic members of the community. Samond, for example, had been indicted nine times over twenty-seven years for various acts of *maleficia;* on top of this, he had also been charged with three counts of grand-larceny during the same period. Others such as John Lowes and John Palmer had similar negative reputations amongst their neighbours, spanning decades. This is particularly interesting when we consider it in the context of the traditional argument that male witches were minor actors when it came to witchcraft and were usually accused in association with women. That they often had long-term reputations as witches suggests that men were quite able to be conceived as witches by their neighbours.

Fundamental to this assertion that men were accused as witches, not because of association with women but because they were believed to be witches in their own right, is the fact that, of the 233 men accused of witchcraft who have been studied here, an overwhelming 70%, had no relation, either past or present, to a female witch. Furthermore, in some cases such as those Benjamin Brand and John Palmer, though they were accused

with a female, it was they who were considered to be the primary instigator of the crime. In the case of Palmer, he had allegedly 'notoriously seduced' Elizabeth Knott into the diabolic craft, whilst Brand was indicted at the quarter sessions with his wife. Yet only he was sent up to the assizes, suggesting that the evidence was primarily aimed against him.[165] Additionally, the fat that men were frequently accused of being witch in their own right is reinforced by closer examination of the indictments wherein we see that in 73% of cases the cases examined here accusation of witchcraft was aimed at a man alone. Moreover, even where men were accused alongside women they were often accused of being the sole enactor of the harm, such as in the case of William Skelton who was charged with three counts of witchcraft alongside his wife Margery. Only two of these cases were joint accusations, and in the final case William was alleged to have been the sole actor in bewitching to death Dorothy Fuller.[166]

This chapter has challenged the notion that men were primarily accused through association with female witches and were limited to less harmful kinds of magic is not as certain as once thought. Its findings suggest that men and women of every social class were, throughout the entire period under study, perfectly prepared to accept that men could be, and often were, witches.

[165] Anon, *The Divels Delusions,* 4; ERO Q/SR 356/18, 50, 89; Ewen I, p.245, n.711.
[166] Ewen I, p.124, n.45.

CHAPTER FOUR: PUNISHMENT

So far, this study has considered the demonological, theological and popular beliefs regarding witchcraft and male witches in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the manifestation of these beliefs in the accusations brought against men during this period. Yet the prosecution of witchcraft in secular courts was a relatively new phenomenon in England at the time that the witch-trials took place. Prior to the sixteenth-century witchcraft was generally prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts and punished through various forms of penance.[1] However, the development of the idea of witchcraft during the preceding centuries - which, Michael Bailey suggests, was a 'slow and unconscious conflation' between learned or elite magic like necromancy, which at its very core involved the invocation of demons, and low magic that was practised by all levels of society and employed common spells, charms, blessings, potions, powders, and talismans - gave rise to the early modern stereotype of the malicious, diabolic witch.[2] Such fusion between the two was evident in the decrees of two medieval popes: Pope John XII's 1320 exhortation against sorcerers and diviners who co-operated with or employed demons and Eugenius IV's railing against uneducated people who could perform 'by a word alone or touch or sign, acts of harmful magic' through a pact made with the devil.[3] This link between *maleficia,* using magic to harm, and a devil worshipping sect underpins the early modern idea of 'witchcraft' rather than simply magic or sorcery and is the foundation of the beliefs that permeated sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe.[4] Interestingly, prior to the synthesis of these two systems of magic, the majority of those brought before the

[1] Rosen, *Witchcraft in England,* p.22
[2] Michael Bailey, 'From Sorcery to Witchcraft: Clerical Conceptions of Magic in the Later Middle Ages', *Speculum,* 76 (2001), 965.
[3] Bailey, *Magic and Superstition,* p.124; Bailey, 'Sorcery', 984; P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Witch Beliefs and Witch Trials in the Middle Ages: Documents and Readings,* (London, 2011), pp.31-2.
[4] Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* pp.7-8.

courts for sorcery and other magical practices were male, however as the pact between the magician and demon became one of servitude the figures reversed, and women began to make up the majority in the courts.[5]

Thus, by the early sixteenth-century attitudes to witches and witchcraft had evolved sufficiently that secular authorities were prompted to take action against these wicked servants of Satan who were hell-bent on destroying God's kingdom through their diabolically given powers.[6] In 1542 Henry VIII enacted a 'bill against conjuration and witchcrafts and sorcery and enchantments' which for the first time, defined witchcraft as a crime under the law of England, (though it was repealed 5 years later by Edward V and there is little evidence that it was ever widely enacted).[7] Twenty years after Henry VIII's act, Elizabeth I' parliament passed 'an act against conjuracions, inchantments and witchecraftes'.[8] Elizabeth's act would be the force behind witchcraft prosecutions until 1604 when it was replaced by James I's 'acte against conjuration, Witchcrafte and dealing with evill and wicked spirits' which would remain in place until its repeal in 1735.[9] *Table 4.1,* below, shows the offences listed in each of these acts and the punishments to be handed down for those found guilty of engaging in them. As we can see, the 1542 act was, by far, the harshest to be enacted with death to be the penalty for all forms of witchcraft or sorcery. However there little, indeed, no evidence of any trials being brought before the assizes for witchcraft in the five years that the Henrican witchcraft act was active. Though of course record survival must be considered as a factor in this absence, especially as there is evidence of witchcraft accusations at the ecclesiastical level. As discussed previously,

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[5] P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, *The British Witch: The Biography,* (Gloucestershire, 2014), p.61; Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* p.37.
[6] Ronald Hutton, *The Witch: A History of Fear, from Ancient Times to the Present,* (Yale, 2017), pp.162-163.
[7] A.D. 1542, 33 Hen. VIII, c.8; Ewen I, p.11; Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England,* p.25.
[8] A.D. 1563, 5 Eliz., c.16
[9] A.D. 1604, 1 Jas. I c.12.

records for assize courts is notoriously spotty and inconsistent and as such the further we go back the more this becomes evident. Another interesting question is why Henrician act did not spark witch-hunts like the 1562 act did. The legal framework existed and was harsher than any of those that followed yet prosecuting witchcraft was seemingly of little concern to the judicial authorities. Such a discussion is perhaps beyond the scope of this thesis but is an area that warrants much more investigation.

	First Offence			**Second Offence**		
	1542	*1563*	*1604*	*1542*	*1563*	*1604*
Killing a person by witchcraft	Death	Death	Death	-	-	-
Causing harm to persons or goods	Death	1 year	Death	-	Death	-
Finding lost or stolen goods/treasure	Death	1 year	1 year	-	Life	Death
Intend to cause harm to persons/goods	Death	1 year	1 year	-	Life	Death
Intend to kill persons by witchcraft	Death	1 year	1 year	-	Life	Death
Conjuring Spirits	Death	Death	Death	-	-	-
Entertaining Evil Spirits	-	-	Death	-	-	-
Provoke to unlawful love	Death	1 year	1 year	-	Life	Death

Table 4.1 Crimes and Punishments in the Witchcraft Statues

Elizabeth I's 1563 act was considerably more lenient with imprisonment being laid down as the punishment for the first offence for all but the most severe crimes (of bewitching a person to death or conjuring evil spirits). P.G. Maxwell-Stuart suggests that the 1563 act was influenced by increasing concern within ecclesiastical circles that there were insufficient secular powers to deal with the growing problem of witchcraft.[10] Malcolm Gaskill also asserts that Elizabeth's legislation was evidence that witchcraft was seen as a social and spiritual lapse and that it was believed that the perpetrators were deserving of a

[10] P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, 'King James's Experiences of Witches and the 1604 English Witchcraft Act' in John Newton and Jo Bath (eds.) *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604,* (Leiden, 2008), p.32.

chance to reform in all but the most severe of crimes.[11] However, the act was later repealed and replaced by the more severe 1604 act passed by James I. Immediate death was now the penalty for not just conjuring spirits and killing but also causing harm to people or their goods and chattels. e new act also included a new crime, that of simply 'entertaining, employing or feeding wicked and evill spirits' regardless of who summoned them or of whether or not a formal pact had been made. Unlike the witchcraft act of his predecessor, James I gave no third chances, upon the second offence for finding lost or stolen goods, intending to cause harm or death to a person or provoking to 'unlawfull love' any person found guilty was met with swift execution. Thus, between 1542 and 1603 the legal foundations for witch prosecutions in England had been firmly established.

PROBLEMS OF PROOF

In order to understand how witches came to be determined as guilty or not one must consider the problems that early modern English courts faced in terms of 'proving' a crime that by its very nature was clandestine and often without witnesses. As discussed in the previous chapter, the English judicial system did not sanction or generally employ, the 'ordeal' or torture, having outlawed such measures in 1215.[12] Thus, those prosecuting suspected witches relied upon circumstantial evidence in order to prove the guilt of those accused. The question is of course, just what constituted 'proof'?

The Elizabethan and Jacobean witchcraft acts, discussed above, outlined the types of witchcraft and the punishments to be handed down to the guilty, however, they failed to provide any instruction on investigative procedure and admissible evidence of the crimes they so vehemently denounced. Contemporary writers, such as those considered in the first

11 Malcolm Gaskill, 'Witchcraft, Emotion and Imagination in the English Civil War', in Newton, Bath, *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604,* p.162.
12 Orna Alyagon Darr, *Marks of an Absolute Witch: Evidentiary Dilemmas in Early Modern England,* (Oxon, 2016), p.45.

chapter of this study, now stepped in to fill this void, writing extensively about appropriate and permissible proofs of these diabolic crimes. Primarily, these writers divided the possible evidence into three tiers, a concept indebted to the Roman-canon doctrine present on the continent.[13] Amongst these discourses, there was considerable overlap between the authors' views thereby making it possible to establish a general, if tenuous, idea of what were held to be the English legal requirements to convict a person of witchcraft.

Fundamentally these writers labelled evidence in three ways; as either unwarrantable or 'weak conjectures', probable or strong presumptions or infallible evidence.[14] A collection of weak conjectures, Bernard argues, might not be sufficient to convict but was enough to warrant further investigation that might find weightier proofs, a sentiment that Perkins agreed with.[15] Weak conjectures might include gossip amongst neighbours or injury occurring following the suspect cursing.[16] Strong presumptions, however, might include such things as a common reputation as a witch, relatives that had been suspected or convicted as witches, injury following cursing, habitual cursing and, in the words of Gaule, 'a lewd and naughty lifestyle'.[17] However, all these 'proofs' are, at best, circumstantial. Nevertheless, they were sufficient for admission as evidence primarily due to the fact England had long allowed the admission of circumstantial evidence during criminal trials.[18] The final category, infallible evidence, was also the subject of some consensus amongst contemporary commentators. William Perkins, for example, argued that testimony of two good witnesses about the suspect's pact with the devil or diabolic actions were sufficient for conviction, otherwise a confession from the accused would also

[13] Darr, *Marks of an Absolute Witch,* p.80.
[14] Gaule, *Select Cases,* pp.75-6; Richard Bernard, *Guide to Grand Jury Men,* pp.226-7
[15] Bernard, *Guide to Grand Jury Men,* pp.204-5; Perkins, *Discourse,* pp.202, 210.
[16] Bernard, *Guide to Grand Jury Men,* pp.25, 226-7; Perkins, *Discourse,* p.202.
[17] Gaule, *Select Cases,* pp.80-1; Bernard, *Guide to Grand Jury Men,* pp.226-7; Perkins, *Discourse* pp.200-1
[18] Darr, *Marks of an Absolute Witch,* p.80.

be enough.[19] Here Perkins is drawing upon the continental methods of proof in which two eyewitnesses or a confession would be sufficient for conviction; he also appears to have agreed with the implementation of torture in extracting these confessions, judging witchcraft to be a treasonable offence against God and man and therefore torture could be permitted.[20] Yet he did stipulate that the 'bare confession' was not enough and should be taken only upon 'pregnant presumptions' and 'good probabilities'.[21] Likewise, Gaule agreed that a 'free confession' was one of the more 'infallible and certain signs', though it should be corroborated by other evidence in order to be sufficient for conviction.[22] Michael Dalton in his 1618 publication, *Countrey Justice* also agreed with the assertion that the voluntary confessions 'exceeded all other evidence'.[23] However, Dalton and Gaule disagreed upon one 'infallible' proof, that of the presence the witches mark, or teat, which was usually considered to be irrefutable evidence that the suspect had suckled a familiar spirit from their body and thus made a covenant with the devil.[24] Gaule however, simply viewed the presence of a bodily mark as a strong presumption of guilt.[25] The notion of the 'witches mark' was an interesting part of English witch-beliefs and its origins are difficult to trace. Certainly, there had existed since the medieval period the idea of the 'devil's mark' on the continent, however this demonic mark is considerably different to the witch's mark found in England which tended to be evidence of the suckling of a familiar spirit or demon rather than an insensible spot or mark that was a sign of a demonic compact.[26] Much like the idea of the familiar spirit, the idea of the witch's mark seems to have appeared almost fully formed in the witchcraft pamphlets of the mid-16th century. The first printed example

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19 Perkins, *Discourse* p. 204.
20 Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt,* pp.193-4; Gaskill, 'Witchcraft and Evidence', 52.
21 Perkins, *Discourse*, pp.211-2.
22 Gaule, *Select Cases,* p.81.
23 Michael Dalton, *The Countrey Justice,* (London, 1618), p.243.
24 Dalton, *The Country Justice,* p.273.
25 Gaule, *Select Cases,* p.80.
26 Phillip C. Almond, *The Devil: A New Biography,* (New York, 2014), pp.136-138.

of the such marks being mentioned occurs in one of the first printed pamphlets published in 1566 regarding the alleged witch 'Mother Waterhouse' who was recorded as having fed her familiar 'by pricking her hand or face & putting the bloud to hys mouth […] the spots of all the which pricks are yet to be sene in her skin.'[27] Interestingly however, the first recorded instance of a male witch possessing such a mark, or teat, occurs much later in the period with John Lowes, the vicar from Brandeston being the first account.[28] Thus, from the very beginning of popular pamphlets there is evidence of the witch's mark being a fully developed belief. Thus, the problem of evidence in English witch-trials was complex. The absence of torture and the centralized control of secular courts has been credited as one of the main reason for the comparatively low number of trials and convictions in England compared to the continent.[29] Nevertheless, the treatises published by learned writers outlined above do provide some guidance on what exactly constituted proof of diabolic witchcraft in early modern English witch-trials.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

The aim of this chapter is to investigate how men accused of witchcraft were punished for their alleged crimes. In the past historians, largely uninterested in the notion of men as witches, have tended to simply ignore the court treatment of male witches beyond mentioning that around fifteen to twenty percent of those executed were men compared with eighty to eighty-five percent of women.[30] However, these figures tend to only include executions rather than all convictions. Authors of studies concerning male witches have also continued in this trend. Apps and Gow, for example, noted that conviction rates in England tended to be low but that overall around twenty-two percent

[27] Phillips, *The Examination and Confession,* B.
[28] Anon, *A True Relation,* A2.
[29] Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* p.92.
[30] Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England,* p.19.

of indictments ended in execution, neglecting to mention, in both their examinations of English, as well as continental, trials verdicts beyond those that resulted in capital punishment.[31] Nevertheless, there is one historian who has produced an analysis that includes conviction rates for all guilty verdicts rather than those that end in the most severe punishment. Rolf Schulte's study of witch-trials in Holstein is especially valuable, as he argues that one should try to count not only trials that ended in execution but also those that resulted in acquittals or non-capital punishments.[32] This approach is a revealing one, as an examination of the statistics related to our own male witches makes clear.

When we analyse the outcomes of the trials of which our male witches were the subject, we begin to see some interesting results. *Fig 4.1,* below, shows the figures of the verdicts for the male witches collected as part of our sample. As can be seen, 95 of the indictments (41%) have no recorded verdict, making it exceedingly difficult to provide an accurate picture of conviction rates amongst men, an issue that extends across all trials, irrespective of gender. Nevertheless, we see that of the138 men who were charged, and where a verdict is known, they are split fairly evenly between guilty and not guilty, with only slightly more being included in the latter if we count cases where the bill of indictment was judged *ignoramus*. However, it is the guilty verdicts that are most interesting. First, if we follow the method of counting executions, then of the total number of 233 men accused of being witches just 27, or 11%, were executed for their alleged crimes. This figure falls below the generally agreed upon rate of 15-20 percent of executions.[33] Yet, if we include all cases in which accused male witches were found guilty, this number rises to 63, or 27%, a 16% increase.

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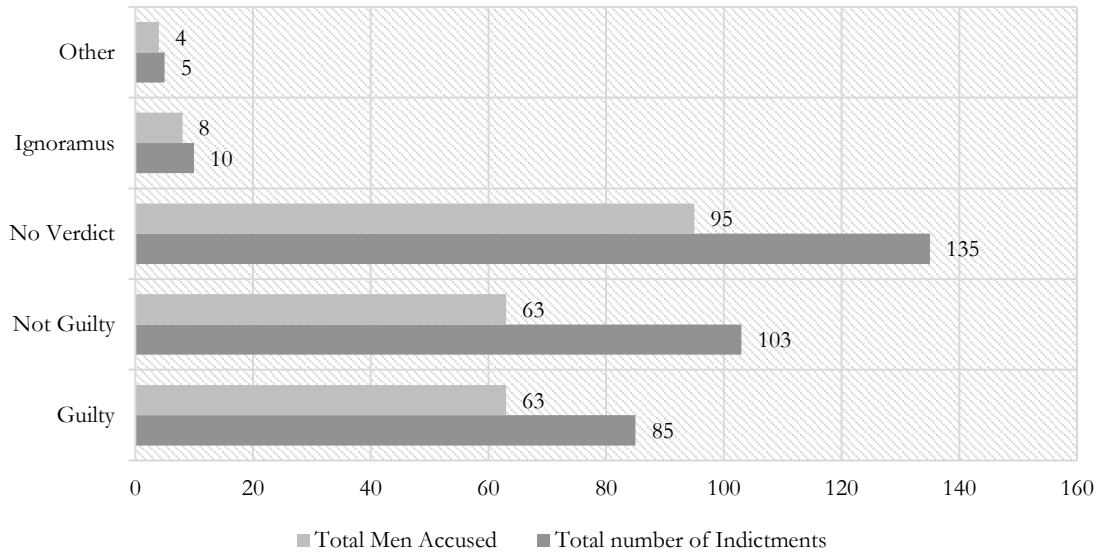
31 Apps and Gow, *Male Witches,* pp.45, 52.
32 Rolf Schulte, 'Men as Accused Witches in the Holy Roman Empire', in Alison Rowlands (ed.) *Masculinity and Male Witches in Early Modern Europe,* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp.52-73.
33 Apps and Gow, *Male Witches,* p.51; Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.111; Macfarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.62; Gaskill, 'Witchcraft in England', 285.

Such figures suggest that focusing purely on executions when examining the fates of guilty witches understates the true extent to which those accused of witchcraft suffered. For example, ten of our male witches were imprisoned for their crimes. Prison in early modern England was a particularly unpleasant experience. As Sharpe argues, prisoners were often ill-fed and living in cramped and unsanitary conditions that facilitated the spread of diseases.[34] Thus, John Hutton, in a case that echoed that of the Samuel family in

Fig. 4.1 Verdicts for total indictments for men accused of witchcraft



Warboys, was accused in 1650 of bewitching the children of Mary Moore, causing them a 'great deale of torment'.[35] Hutton was committed to Northumberland gaol after being brought to Moore's house and viciously scratched by his alleged victim, after which he appears to have confessed to his part in tormenting the family. However, Hutton died in gaol before he could be taken to trial.[36] Likewise, Abraham Bones was held in gaol before his trial in 1659 for bewitching to death Sarah Smith alongside William Bones and Mary

[34] Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England,* pp.46-7.
[35] Anon, *The Witches of Warboys,* (London, 1597); Mary Moore, *Wonderfull newes from the north. Or, A true relation of the sad and grievous torments, inflicted upon the bodies of three children of Mr. George Muschamp, late of the county of Northumberland, by witch-craft*, (London, 1650), Cv
[36] Mary Moore, *Wonderfull newes from the north,* Cv.

Warner. All were found not guilty however it was noted the Abraham had died in gaol before he could be tried.[37]

Furthermore, focusing on instances of capital punishment alone also ignores the nuances and anomalies of punishments that could be meted out to alleged witches. For example, Robert Browning was accused in 1598 of defrauding the king's subjects by 'persuading them that by conjuration and invocation of evil spirits they might discover hidden hoards of gold and silver, and regain lost goods'.[38] Conjuration of spirits under the Elizabethan Witchcraft Act would have usually resulted in hanging should the defendant be found guilty. However, in Browning's case, despite being found guilty, he was given the considerably lighter punishment of being pilloried. This was most likely due to the fact that he had fraudulently claimed to invoke the spirits rather than actually doing so.[39] Likewise, Lyon Gleane who was a suspected conjurer, which again, under the 1604 Jacobean Witchcraft Act, was likely to be a capital crime, was instead sentenced to be 'set in stocks and whipped and sent to Boston'.[40] Perhaps most peculiar case, however, is that of John Chaunsey of Hampstead in Middlesex who was accused in 1617, and found guilty, of 'practising to destroy Edmond Moore by witchcraft and poisoning' as well as 'taking and carrying away the wife and children' of the said Edmond. Under the 1604 Act even the intent to kill or harm a person through witchcraft was to be punished by execution, yet Chaunsey was 'assessed for a fine of £200'.[41] The fact that he been 'assessed' and was determined to be able to pay £200 suggests that he was likely a relatively well-off member of society; might his social status help to explained his extremely light sentencing for what should have been a capital crime?

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[37] Ewen I, p.251, n.736.
[38] Ewen I, p.186, n.417
[39] Ewen I, p.186, n.417; p.36.
[40] Ewen I, p.206, n.524.
[41] Middlesex Sessions Records, IV, 1616-18, f.136.

As noted in the previous chapter, traditional theories regarding the social status of accused witches assert that they were primarily 'old, socially isolated and poor'.[42] However, as our analysis of the occupations of our men in the previous chapter shows, the majority of those accused were not from the lowest levels of society, but rather were primarily the middling sort such as yeomen and artisans. Examining the social status of those found guilty we see that of the twenty-seven guilty men for whom an occupation was recorded nineteen were yeomen or artisans, whilst just six were labourers and the remaining two were gentlemen. Fourteen of these men were executed for their crimes; of these, ten came from the middling group, and the middling sort also made up more than half of the eight that were imprisoned. Furthermore, the two gentlemen who were found guilty; Robert Parker who attempted to harm Thomas Browne by 'charmes and sorceries' in 1613 and Stephen Trefuelbeck who was alleged to have used witchcraft to provoke George Southcoate to 'unlawful love' with a woman in 1591, were both imprisoned for their crimes.[43] Finally, we should note that the patterns of accusation amongst those found guilty appears to follow the same pattern that was revealed in the previous chapter. The twenty-seven men found guilty were the focus of thirty-eight indictments; of these nineteen record a victim, though only ten of these cases record their occupation. In the case of these ten indictments six come from within the same social group as the accused whilst the remaining four come from victims of a higher status. Thus, as established in the previous chapter, it appears that male witches did not generally come from the poorest and most vulnerable section of society but rather were more affluent members of the community and that poverty was not an indicator of increased likelihood of punishment. Of course, one must be cautious in making sweeping generalisations about the social status of male witches as the available sample size is relatively small. Nevertheless, such evidence

[42] Sharpe, *Instruments*, p.172.
[43] Ewen I, p.206, n.518; Middlesex Sessions Records, I, p.197.

does reinforce the conclusions of the previous chapter; that the poor may not have been so unusually vulnerable to prosecution for witchcraft as is frequently claimed.

Finally, the fact that during this period, capital punishment was only meted out by secular courts for witchcraft trials, means that focusing on execution rates ignores what was occurring in the ecclesiastical courts. For example, out of our 63 "guilty" male witches, fourteen were declared to be so during ecclesiastical trials and were subsequently punished through penitential sentences. Henry Dryver, for example, was suspected of witchcraft in 1582 and brought before the Archdeaconry of Colchester where he was ordered by the court to complete purgation.[44] Compurgation entailed the accused purging themselves by bringing a number of neighbours, usually three or four, but in this case, five, to testify that they believed the charges to be unfounded.[45] If purgation was successful then their good reputation was restored. However, this meant that one's innocence was dependent upon one's neighbours' support. Thus, if one had a reputation within the community as a witch, purgation would likely fail. Should this occur, then the accused would be ordered to undertake penance for their sins, as Dryver ultimately was.[46] Likewise, William Leonard, a suspected witch, also failed to purge himself through the help of his neighbours and was therefore required to complete penance for his sins, as was John Gosse.[47] Besides purgation and penitence, those who were accused and found guilty of witchcraft could be excommunicated by the ecclesiastical authorities; this was true of four of our men.[48] Excommunication entailed the suspension of being able to attend church as well as various legal and social sanctions; the community was, in theory, forbidden from interacting with the excommunicate and they were unable to be employed or buy and sell goods, making

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44 MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.287.
45 Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640,* (Cambridge, 1987), pp.52-3.
46 Ingram, *Church Courts,* p.52; MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* pp.64, 287.
47 MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* pp.281, 288.
48 Macfarlane, *Witchcraft,* pp.290, 291, 298.

life considerably more difficult for those who were handed this judgement.[49] Usually, after someone was excommunicated they would appear within forty days to seek absolution from the court. However, as R.B. Outhwaite argues, those who were particularly obdurate could remain excommunicated for considerable periods of time as they refused to confess their sins and complete the proscribe penitence. There is one such example of the obstinacy amongst our male witches. John Churche was brought before the ecclesiastical court in March 1590, accused of using witchcraft, and was subsequently excommunicated by the authorities.[50] Churche reappears in the records in July the following year on the same charge of using witchcraft. In this case, he is recorded as 'standing excommunicate'.[51] This suggests that he refused to confess and repent his sins through penance.

Chapter one discussed the demonological and theological beliefs that surrounded male witches and demonstrated that, in the eyes of learned commentators, men were just as capable of practising harmful magic as women. This assertion was reinforced by the examination of beliefs in popular witchcraft literature undertaken in the second chapter. Historians have traditionally associated male witches with benign practices such as harvest and weather magic, magical healing and the increase or recovery of material goods and wealth rather than *maleficium*.[52] Yet, as the previous chapter demonstrated, in legal trials, men were overwhelmingly accused of harmful magic such as bewitching people to death or causing harm through magical means. So, was the belief that men could be witches shared by the jurors charged with determining the guilt or innocence of our male suspects? Some historians, such as Deborah Willis, have asserted that 'in the relatively few cases [that male

[49] R.B. Outhwaite, *The Rise and Fall of the English Ecclesiastical Courts, 1500-1860,* (Cambridge, 2006), pp.11-12.
[50] MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.291.
[51] MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.291.
[52] Rowlands, 'Introduction', pp.8-9.

witches] were actually indicted, they often escaped conviction and execution'.[53] Anne Barstow likewise argues that 'men were often let off with lighter sentences than women'.[54]

Table 4.2, below, shows the verdicts which were returned on the 338 indictments brought against our male witches. As noted above, the majority of indictments have no recorded verdicts. However, from the remaining cases, we can clearly see that juries had no difficulty in believing men to be guilty of causing harm or death to others through witchcraft, or of practising other magics such as sorcery or conjuration. In line with the general trend of English witch-trials not guilty verdicts tend, as a whole, to outnumber guilty. As Sharpe and Levack note, conviction rates in England were particularly low compared to continental figures, as more than 50% of trials ended in acquittals, the lowest figure in western Europe with the exception of Finland and the Netherlands.[55]The highest number of guilty verdicts were returned in cases where the accused was simply suspected of witchcraft. As noted in the previous chapter, the term 'suspicion of witchcraft' was ambiguous, but the use of the term 'witchcraft' might suggest that their actions were unlikely to have been benign. In such cases it can, therefore, be somewhat difficult to determine just what they were being declared guilty of; however, it is possible to narrow down the type of witchcraft of which they might have been accused. Firstly, for example, two of our men who were 'suspected of witchcraft' were executed. One case was that of 'Meggs, a baker' who was tried during the 1645 trials spearheaded by Mathew Hopkins. In The Discovery of Witches Hopkins states that one 'Meggs, a baker' submitted himself voluntarily to be searched for marks which were subsequently found resulting in his execution.[56]

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[53] Willis, *Malevolent Nurture,* p.28.
[54] Barstow, *Witchcraze,* p.25.
[55] Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England,* p.26; Brian Levack, 'Possession, Witchcraft and the Law in Jacobean England', in B. Levack (ed.), *New Perspectives on Witchcraft Magic and Demonology, Volume III: Witchcraft in the British Isles and New England,* (New York, 2001), p. 31.
[56] Hopkins, *Discovery of Witches,* p.7.

Likewise, Matthew Bonner of St. Andrews, Newcastle was simply recorded as 'a witch' and

	Guilty	Not Guilty	No Verdict	Ignoramus	Other
Bewitching to Death Person	18	28	17	4	-
Bewitching to Death Animal	7	16	18	3	-
Bewitching to Cause Harm	4	23	18	-	-
Cozening/Defrauding	1	1	-	-	-
Invocation	8	11	4	-	1
Destroying Goods/Chattels	4	2	8	-	-
Suspected of Witchcraft	25	10	43	1	2
Suspected of Conjuration	5	2	18	-	2
Consulting with Witches	1	-	-	-	-
Sorcery	5	4	15	-	-
Owning Familiar Spirits	3	1	3	-	-
Finding Lost/Stolen Goods	3	5	6	2	-
Bewitching Beer	1	-	-	-	-
Raising Storms	-	-	1	-	-

Table 4.2: Total number of verdicts returned on English Male Witches

summarily executed in 1650 thus we have no record of what his alleged crimes actually were.[57] Thus one might assume that in these cases the 'witchcraft' that they practiced was almost certainly malefic. Secondly, there were three indictments that resulted in the accused being imprisoned; two of these cases the accusations were made against Stephen Kylden who in 1585 had engraved the 'Lord Treasurer's picture in wood, and therewith to make his picture of wax to the intent to destroy him in his body' and 'for the like against my Lord Leicester'[58] The remaining indictment pertained to Stephen Trefulack who was accused in 1591 of using 'wytchecraftes inchauntementes charmes and sorceryes' to provoke one George Southcott to unlawful love against Eleanor Thursbye.[59] The

[57] J.C. Cox, The Parish Registers of England, (London, 1910), pp.228-9
[58] Brit. Lib., Harley M.S. 160, f.188.
[59] Middlesex County Records, Vol I, 1550-1603, p. 197.

remaining ten cases are the result of trials before the ecclesiastical courts. In these cases, it appears that the accusations of witchcraft were likely not of the malefic type. For example, Robert Crake and John Plummer were charged with using 'the sieve and shears' and sentenced to penance.[60] Similarly, Edmund Rowlande was a physician who was suspected of working by 'witchcraft'. These are kinds of magic that are linked to the practices of cunning folk.[61] The sieve and shears, for example, were often used to find lost or stolen goods or to detect thieves.[62] Others, however, such as William Curswell, John Gosse, Henry Dryver and Michael Smyth were simply listed as 'witches' and ordered to undergo purgation; if that failed they were sentenced to penance. The label of 'witch' might suggest that these men were accused of more malicious kinds of witchcraft, though it seems unlikely to be the case due to their appearance in the ecclesiastical courts rather than secular.

Despite this difficulty in determining the nature of these 'suspicions of witchcraft' *Table* 4.2 shows that the remaining guilty verdicts handed down to our male witches were much more clear-cut and were the result of accusations of *malefic* witchcraft. Of these, bewitching a person to death was the most punished crime with eighteen accusations against fifteen men, which were all executed in accordance with statutes of the period. Two of these men, William Skelton and James Device, were accused of more than one murder. Skelton, for example, was alleged to have bewitched to death three people in 1572 and was subsequently found guilty of all three murders.[63] Others, such as Thomas Kynge were also found guilty of multiple crimes, though in Kynge's case he was accused of bewitching to death John Marten and a horse belonging to Henry Abell in 1583.[64] Likewise, Thomas

[60] MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* pp. 286, 287.
[61] MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.295.
[62] Jo Bath, 'The Treatment of Potential Witches in North-East England, c. 1649-1680' in Newton and Bath (eds.) *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604,* pp.129-30.
[63] Ewen I, pp.124-5, n.45, 47, 48; Potts, *Wonderful Discoverie,* G4v-I1v.
[64] Ewen I, pp.152-3, n..210, 211.

Everard was indicted on four counts of witchcraft, one of bewitching to death his own grandchild, another of bewitching beer so that 'many people dyed', destroying the goods and chattels of a person and finally, suckling a familiar spirit. In 1645, all these crimes carried the death penalty, and this was Everard's fate.[65] Interestingly, Everard was linked with another man, James More, his brother-in-law and was said to have persuaded More to take one of his imps, after which 'the diuell appeared to him in the likenes of a boy […] and p[er]swaded him to forsake god and Christ' for which he sealed the covenant with his blood.[66] More, however, managed to escape from prison shortly before his arraignment and his fate is unknown.[67]

The Everard case is particularly striking for its resemblance to the case of the Pendle witches. According to his confession, Everard had been approached by a thing in the likeness of a rabbit during his time as an apprentice cooper and it had asked him to 'loue it […] if he wold denie god [and the] Ch[urch]'. Everard initially refused but later consented when he met it another time and it scratched him 'under his ear and got blood of him'.[68] Thus began Everard's life as a witch. According to Gaskill, Everard then married Mary More, another witch. Like the Device family, they also raised at least one of their children to follow in their diabolic footsteps, their daughter Marian confessing to being a witch during the same trial.[69] Together, the Everard family allegedly engaged in numerous acts of *maleficium* from bewitching beer to destroying livestock and even killing their own grandchild. Thomas Everard then enticed his brother-in-law James More into the fold by giving him one of his imps which More subsequently used to murder his brother William More for 'refusing to pay him a legacy'.[70] In many ways the case of the Everards' echoes

[65] Brit. Lib., Add. Ms. 27402, f.120b.
[66] Brit. Lib., Add. Ms. 27402, f.121. SuRO, B105/2/1 fo.80v.
[67] Frederick Valletta, *Witchcraft, Magic and Superstition in England, 1640-70,* (Oxon, 2000), p.141.
[68] Brit. Lib., Add. Ms. 27402, f.120b.
[69] Gaskill, *Witchfinders,* p.94.
[70] Brit. Lib., Add. Ms. 27402, ff.120b, 121; Ewen I, pp.310-11

that of the Pendle witches - the malefic witchcraft, sharing of familiars, practices passed down through generations and the enticing of others into their diabolism – except that the responsibility lay not with two old, poor women but rather a man and a woman who were unlikely to be in economic trouble due to their employment as beer brewers. Furthermore, from the confessions and contemporary publications following the Everards' trials, it appears that Thomas was the 'leader' of this group. It was he who enticed James More into witchcraft. Thomas More's confession also mentions that he had killed Mr Swaine with his wife and that together they 'had bewitched Beere in that Brewhouse: and that the odiousnesse of the infectious stinke of it was such & so intollerable that by the noysomnesse of the smel or tast many people dyed', there does not appear to be much of her actions in the confession.[71]

This idea of the male witches as instigators is further illustrated win other cases. John Palmer, for example, had been brought to trial in 1649 on various charges of witchcraft including bewitching to death a person; he was executed for his crimes the same year. Palmer's subsequent confession was published as part of a trial pamphlet entitled *The Divels Delusions,* in which he confessed to having been a witch for 'sixty years' thereby establishing his reputation as a highly experienced witch.[72] The pamphlet goes on to record that Palmer 'notoriously seduced Elizabeth Knott […] to consort with him in his villany' thus suggesting the inciter of the diabolic crimes and the corruptor of others.[73] This is an opinion that the author reinforces with his declaration that out of the 'fifty and sixty years' of harm that Palmer had caused, seducing another into the art was his 'prime pranck' and that Knott was but a 'novice, in comparison of him'.[74]

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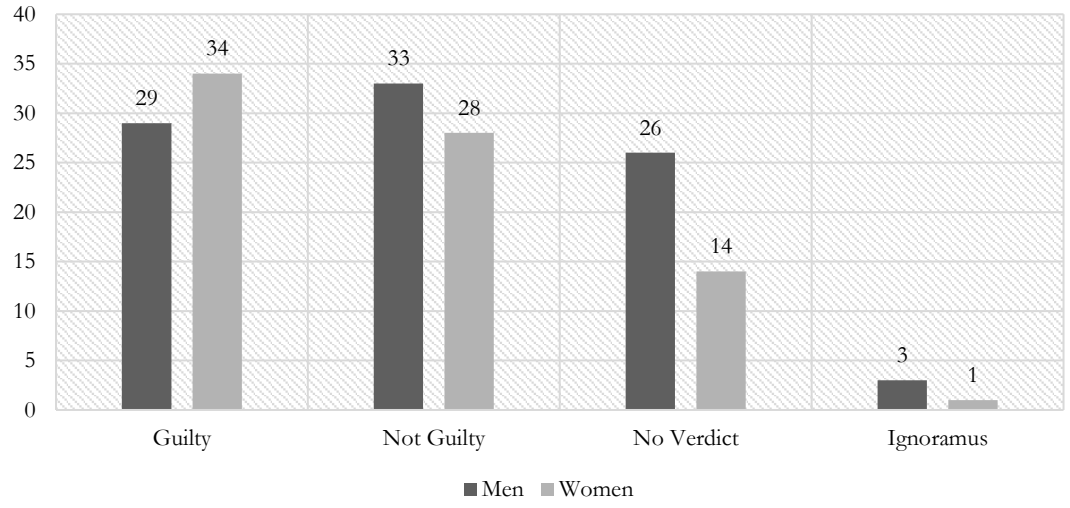
[71] Brit. Lib., Add. Ms. 27402, ff.120b, 121, Ewen I, p.309; Anon, *A true relation of the araignment of eighteene witches*, pp.3-4.
[72] Anon, *The Divels Delusions,* A2v.
[73] Anon, *The Divels Delusions,* A3v.
[74] Anon, *The Divels Delusions,* A3v, 5.

GENDER AND PUNISHMENT

How true is it to suggest that male witches were less likely to be punished as harshly, if at all, by the courts? As established in the previous chapter 70% of our male witches were accused independently of a female thus undermining the assertion that male witches were simply accused as the confederates of female witches. In the case of punishment, *Fig. 4.2*, below, shows the verdicts of the men accused with a woman. Out of the ninety-one indictments in which a man was accused alongside a woman, twenty-nine returned guilty verdicts for the man. In the case of their female accomplices slightly more, thirty-four, were judged to be guilty. Further examination of these indictments shows that the figure is not as disparate as initially suggested. The five cases of the woman being punished while the man escapes relate to only three women rather than five; Grace Trower, Anne Winchester and Agnes Hammond. In the case of Trower and Hammond, there appears to be no clear reason why their husbands escaped punishment and they did not. In both examples, the husband and wife team were accused of the same crimes. Thus, John and Grace Trower were indicted once for bewitching to death the chattels of Richard Lucking whilst Agnes and Thomas Hammond were accused of two acts of *maleficium*; bewitching to death Henry Chapman and bewitching three horses belonging to Edward Parker.[75] None of the accused had previously appeared in any court on charges of witchcraft nor do any of them appear afterwards. Thus, it is impossible to say why the verdicts were returned in such a fashion. In the case of Anne Winchester however, we see that the accusations against her husband George might truly be a case of accusation by association. The Winchesters were tried in 1603 for bewitching to death Margaret Steddolph. Anne was found guilty and executed whilst George was deemed to be innocent. It appears that Anne had a reputation for witchcraft, as during the same assizes, she was

[75] Ewen I, p.183, n.403; pp.205-6, n.522, 523.

Fig 4.2 Verdicts delivered on men accused of witchcraft alongside women



the sole defendant of three other accusations, two of murdering a person through witchcraft and one of bewitching a person to cause harm.[76] Hence, it is clear that Anne Winchester was probably considered to be the instigator of the *maleficium* that so harmed her neighbours rather than a participant in a joint husband and wife effort.

Furthermore, in cases where men were accused with women who had a pre-existing reputation as a witch, English judicial procedure, as discussed at the start of this chapter, would require the victims to provide sufficient evidence of the alleged male witches' crimes in order to not only bring them to trial but also to convince the jury of their guilt. For example, in the case of William and Margery Skelton, who were tried and executed in 1572 for bewitching a number of people, Margery had appeared before the ecclesiastical courts in 1566 as a cunning-woman who admitted that she 'hathe, w[ith] prayinge of her prayers […] healed vi persones'.[77] Six years later she had been transformed from a healer to a *malefic* witch. William and Margery appeared at the 1571 Lent Assizes in

[76] Ewen I, p.195, n.466, 467, 468, 469.
[77] W.H. Hale, *A series of precedents and proceedings in criminal causes extending from the year 1475 to 1640, extracted from act-books of ecclesiastical courts in the diosese of London, illustrative of the discipline of the Church of England,* (London, 1847), p.148; Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.279.

Essex on four charges of bewitching to death a person. Two of these were joint accusations whilst the other two were individual. William was alleged to have bewitched to death Dorothy Fuller whilst Margery was said to have murdered Phyllis Pyckett, while together they had allegedly killed John Churchman and Agnes Collen. It seems possible, in the light of Margery Skelton's previous reputation, that these could have been customers that they had been unable to heal, especially as all bar Churchman appear to have been children. Nevertheless, the fact that William was accused of being the sole cause of at least one of these deaths suggests that he was not simply accused through association with his wife but rather because he was believed to have been a worker of harmful magic *alongside* her. Ultimately, both husband and wife were declared be guilty of all four alleged murders and summarily executed.[78]

To sum up, the twenty-nine indictments which feature men being accused of witchcraft alongside women refer to twenty-one men and twenty-three women in total. This suggests that whilst, in some cases, men might escape punishment when accused alongside a female who was subsequently found guilty, to suggest that this was a common phenomenon would be a considerable exaggeration. Moreover, the opposite situation also occurs; in which the man is deemed to be guilty whilst his alleged female accomplice is not. A case in point is that of George and Sarah Adownes (Adonwis) who were indicted together in 1613 for bewitching to death one Hugh Adownes, presumably a relative. George was convicted and executed whilst Sarah was judged to be not guilty. Interestingly, this case was heard in the same court in which Thomas and Agnes Hammond were tried. Perhaps, in the case of George Adownes, the possible relationship between the witch and his victim might have helped to seal his guilt. This might be further suggested by the presence of what appears to be another relative, Robert Adownes, as one of the witnesses

[78] Ewen I, pp.124-5, n.45, 46, 47, 48.

alongside seven others, a rather high number compared to many other trials.[79] Sarah never appeared on other charges following her husband's execution, reinforcing the suggestion that George was believed to be the witch and his wife simply caught up in the accusations. There is not much more information available regarding the Adownes; but this case clearly shows that it was not beyond the conceptualization of jurors to consider a man as the instigator and the woman to be innocent.

Furthermore, in the case of husband and wife John and Joan Samond, we see almost the reverse of the Winchester case. In this instance, John had initially been brought before the assizes in 1560 on the charge of bewitching to death two people, though he was found not guilty and discharged.[80] He appears again in 1572 on two charges, one of bewitching to death two cows belonging to William Treasure and one of causing harm through witchcraft to Edward Robynson.[81]. However, in the indictment relating to the attack on Robyson, Samond's wife Joan is also accused of aiding him and on a further count of laming Richard Pereson on her own.[82] Joan has never before appeared in any court records, suggesting that she has no prior reputation for inflicting *maleficium* on her neighbours. In this case, both John and Joan were acquitted of. This is the last that we hear of Joan Samond. Her husband, however, appears again, fifteen years later, in 1587, on four more charges of witchcraft for which he is finally found guilty and executed.[83]

A final point to be made is that, in cases where several men were accused together, the convictions could often result in differing verdicts for those involved. For example, in 1580, as we have seen, five men, William Randall, Thomas Elkes, Thomas Luffkin, Ralph Spacy and Constance Waddington, were brought before the court of the Kings' Bench and

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79 Ewen I, p.205, n.521.
80 Ewen I, p.117, n.1.
81 Ewen I, p.126, n.55, 56.
82 Ewen I, pp.126-8, n.56, 57.
83 Ewen I, pp.158- 60, n.241, 247, 250, 253.

charged with invoking evil spirits in order to find treasure. Out of these five, only Randall was executed for the crime. Luffkin was acquitted whilst Elkes, Spacy and Waddington were found guilty but quickly reprieved.[84] A few years previously in 1575 Thomas Heather, William Williamson, Thomas Twyford and Richard were tried together at the Surrey Lent sessions for the same crime of conjuring evil spirits 'with the intention of gaining divers great sums of money'. Only Heather was found guilty the other three men being acquitted of the crime.[85] Heather had appeared two years previously at the 1573 Hertford Lent Session. Indicted once more for conjuring spirits, he had been found guilty and imprisoned for one year. Thus in 1575, he was executed for his repeat offence.[86] It appears that Heather, who, like John Samond and Alice Winchester, had had a reputation prior to his indictment with Williamson, Twyford and Pope, was considered to be the problem rather than those accused alongside him.

Barstow's assertion, that men accused of witchcraft alongside women, if convicted, often escaped with a lighter punishment, also warrants investigation, if only to display how incorrect this assumption is for English witch-trials.[87] Certainly, there were cases where it appears that, despite being found guilty of witchcraft or *maleficia*, the accused were not punished according to the statute and instead given a considerably lighter sentence. The most obvious case of this is that of John Chaunsey, mentioned above, who in 1617 was found guilty of attempting to cause harm to one Edmond Moore, a gentleman, by 'witchcraft and poisons'. Despite such actions carrying the death penalty, Chaunsey escaped, as we have seen, with the rather unusual punishment of a £200 fine.[88] At first glance, this might appear to be an example that would agree with Barstow's proposition

[84] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* 1587, vol. III, pp.1314-15; K.B. 27, 1275.
[85] Ewen I, p.131, n.88.
[86] Ewen I, pp.128, 131, n.66, 80.
[87] Barstow, *Witchcraze,* p.25.
[88] Middlesex Sessions Records, IV, 1616-18, f.136.

that male witches were treated differently in the courts. However, Chaunsey was accused alongside two women, one of whom, Katherine Spencer, was a servant of the alleged victim. Chaunsey and Spencer were aided and abetted by one Joan Bombricke, though her association to the two is unknown.[89] Both women were found guilty alongside Chaunsey. However, rather than being punished differently, as one might have expected, particularly considering the lower status of Spencer they were also fined. Spencer was ordered to pay £50 whilst Bombricke was fined £100.[90] This was the only explicit case that I have come across of male and female witches being accused together and receiving lesser punishments than that statute proscribed.

Furthermore, there do not appear to be cases of men judged guilty of explicit witchcraft who were given lighter punishments than the law laid down In the cases of Lyon Gleane, Robert Browning and Robert Wallys, the lesser punishments appear to be due to the fact that these men had not actually invoked or conjured spirits but rather falsely claimed to have done so.[91] Falsely claiming to have conjured spirits appears to have been a very risky act that could result in one's execution should it go wrong. In both the Browning and Wallys cases the accused men were alleged to have conjured these spirits in order to find lost and stolen goods, suggesting that they were, or at least pretending to be, cunning-men. This pretence of being a cunning-person can also be found in the case of Joan Haddon who was charged in 1560 with bewitching numerous people and extorting 'divers sums of money' through her witchcraft. Like Browning and Wallys, Haddon was not found guilty of actually practising witchcraft but rather of pretending to do so thereby defrauding people. The punishment for Haddon's deception was, as in Browning's case, to be placed upon the pillory.[92] Therefore it seems that, contrary to what has been alleged by some

[89] Middlesex Sessions Records, IV, 1616-18, f.136.
[90] Middlesex Sessions Records, IV, 1616-18, f.136.
[91] Ewen I, p.186, n..417; p.206, n.524; J.S. Cockburn, *Essex, Eliz I,* n.656.
[92] Ewen I, p.117, n.2.

historians, men accused and found guilty of witchcraft were unlikely to receive lesser punishments in comparison to their female counterparts; rather most judges, it appears, followed the conventions set out in the legislature when sentencing these witches. Where they strayed from this the guilty were seemingly treated equally irrespective of gender.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has sought to analyse how those men accused of witchcraft were judged and treated in the English judicial system and what this suggests about attitudes towards male witches by those prosecuting them. By using surviving legal documents such as indictments, depositions and confessions as well as contemporary printed publications we have begun to piece together a picture of male witches and their treatment. We can now see that there was no barrier to men being judged as guilty of practising and using witchcraft, both against others and for more benign reasons such as treasure hunting or finding stolen goods.

Out of the 233 men who were known to have been brought before the various courts on charges of witchcraft, 27% of the total were found guilty either by a jury of their peers or by an ecclesiastical court. Out of these 63, 48 were found guilty of witchcraft that was serious enough to be handled by the assizes. These figures, therefore, put the percentage of male witches found guilty at secular courts, both by indictment and individual persons, in line with the 20% figure suggested for female witches.[93] This suggests that, on average, men accused of witchcraft had roughly the same chance of being declared guilty as women. However, it is worth mentioning that the number of men executed for their crimes was slightly lower than average with eleven percent of our men being sentenced to death, rather than the fifteen to twenty-percent suggested by

[93] Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.111

historians.[94] Furthermore, the structure of the English legal system meant that, rather than an educated and detached judge conducting a detailed investigation of suspected crimes, which often resulted in torture-induced confessions, and subsequently declaring the accused's innocence or guilt, those accused in England were judged by a jury of their peers.[95] Victims, or accusers, had to present evidence and convince these jurors of the guilt of the defendant. That the conviction rates for men were roughly equivalent to those for women reinforces the assertion of earlier chapters that lay people had little difficulty in conceptualising a man as a worker of *malefic* magic or witchcraft.

Contrary to received opinion, male witches in England were overwhelmingly accused independently of female witches. Examination of the conviction rates of alleged male witches shows that, of the 63 found guilty, 43 (68% of the total) had no relation to a female witch. Additionally, there appears to be only a slight increase in conviction rates between those men who were accused alongside women and those who were accused independently. Of 166 men accused independently, 25% were found guilty whilst of the 67 accused alongside a woman, this figure rises to 29%. Such figures suggest that the traditional views that male witches were charged simply as the associates of female witches is wrong.

Moreover, in the cases where men were accused alongside women, there appears to be little difference in the likelihood the man and woman being convicted. Of the 91 indictments which note that the accused had a relationship with a female witch, there are only five cases where the man escaped punishment whilst the woman was convicted. Further, these five cases applied to only three husband and wife couples. Out of these three, it is only in the case of Anne and George Winchester, who were tried in 1603, that it

[94] Apps and Gow, *Male Witches,* p.51; Sharpe, *Instruments,* p.111; Macfarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.62; Gaskill, 'Witchcraft in England', 285.
[95] Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt,* pp.194-5

is possible to confidently suggest a case of the husband being accused through association with his wife.[96] In addition to this, it also becomes clear that it was possible for the reverse to happen, as was the case for George and Sarah Adownes, whereby George was executed for bewitching to death a person whilst his wife was acquitted on the same indictment.[97] Such findings indicate that popular assertions that men were more likely to escape punishment than women are incorrect. Ultimately, amongst our sample, those accused with women were generally judged to be as equally complicit, and therefore guilty, as each other.

Finally, there is also little evidence that men were punished less harshly when found guilty than female witches. In all the cases where a man was accused with a woman, and each were found guilty, the punishment was the same for both. Further, where the punishment was unusually lenient for the crime, such as during John Chaunsey's trial, the tow women found guilty alongside him received the same leniency.[98]

The analysis of the judicial punishments of the male witches which has been undertaken in this chapter has reinforced the assessment of the previous chapter that the traditional view of witchcraft as a primarily female crime of which men were sometimes accused is, at the very least, exaggerated. Men were accused of, and punished for, engaged in very much the same kinds of witchcraft as women. The evidence of our sample shows that conviction rates for men fell just about in line with conviction rates for women, though admittedly execution rates were slightly lower than average. Thus, it appears that the judicial system and those who acted as jurors during trials could, and did, easily believe

[96] Ewen I, p.195, n.466, 467, 468, 469.
[97] Ewen I, p.205, n.521.
[98] Middlesex Sessions Records, IV, 1616-18, f,136.

men to be capable of causes harm, and even death, to others and punished them for their crimes accordingly.

CONCLUSION

This study has sought to further the understanding of the presence of male witches in early modern England which have been widely neglected, by most historians of witchcraft, as discussed in the Introduction. Most notably of course are the comments of Anne Barstow in 1994 and Stuart Clark in 1997. Although their comments no longer reflect what the majority of scholars working in witchcraft history think, the discussion of male witches fundamentally remains marginal to witchcraft studies despite the general acceptance of their presence. Most recent historiographical works do little beyond mentioning that they exist and make minimal attempts to integrate them back in to the narrative of early modern witch-beliefs. For example, Julian Goodare's *The European Witch-Hunt* published in 2016 simply states that whilst men could be accused of witchcraft, 'witch-hunting was primarily a hunt for women.'[1] Likewise, Levack in his 4th edition of *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe,* also published in 2016, reiterates the common assertion that men were primarily accused as accomplices to female witches and when witch-hunts spiralled out of control.[2] Further, there has been limited study of the role of men as victims in the witch-hunts and this thesis, therefore, is to my knowledge, the first systematic study of English male witches and their place in the learned and popular beliefs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Through an analysis of the theological and demonological texts and popular trial pamphlets published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, combined with a quantitative study of a sample of the surviving legal records such as indictments, depositions and confessions, from across England, which draws upon 338 indictments concerning men accused of *maleficium* and witchcraft, I have attempted to establish the patterns of belief amongst the elite and popular sections of society. Underpinning this work is the aim of

[1] Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt,* p.291
[2] Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* pp.131-34

reintegrating the oft-neglected figure of the male witch into our models of witchcraft historiography and thus advancing our understanding of the complex dynamics of early modern society and its beliefs regarding witchcraft, something that so far has been relatively lacking for studies of English witchcraft.

Witchcraft beliefs in the early modern period were diverse and complex, and our current way of understanding them, through the lens of the persecution of women, is not entirely satisfactory. In attempting to re-evaluate the place of male witches in early modern witch beliefs, this study has argued that it was not, as Clark suggests, 'literally unthinkable' at a demonological level for men to be witches.[3] Elite belief systems, represented in the demonological and theological treatises published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, clearly saw no conceptual barrier to the idea of men as witches. Whilst the fact that the writers' observations were intensely misogynistic, and frequently proclaimed the inherent inferiority of women, might lend credence to the argument that witchcraft accusations and witch-hunts were the result of a misogynistic and patriarchal society, it is tempered by the overwhelming evidence that these same theologians, who expounded the susceptibility of women to sin and the devil, also thought it entirely plausible that men could fall into these same temptations.[4] Analysis of these publications shows that learned ideas of witchcraft saw little difference in the abilities of male and female witches. Both men and women were capable of performing harmful magic to injure, torment or kill others. Men also bound themselves to Satan in much the same way as women: through the renunciation of their baptism and God and the surrendering of their soul to the devil. Furthermore, there was no perceived imbalance between the genders regarding the power dynamic between the witch and the devil. Men, as well as women, became the servants of Satan. Thus, the elite

[3] Clark, *Thinking with Demons,* pp.129-30.
[4] For remarks about female inferiority see in particular; Perkins, *Discourse*, pp.168-9; Glanivill, *Saducismus Triumphatus,* p.28; Cooper, *Mystery,* p.206. On the misogyny of the witch-hunt see: Whitney, 'The Witch "She" / The Historian "He"'

conceptions of witchcraft that permeated early modern English thought had no problem in imagining the witch as male.

The capability of men to be diabolic witches is also widely represented in the popular trial pamphlets of the period. Using these popular publications to access lay and popular beliefs, this study has demonstrated that, contrary to what historians have previously thought evident, men were far from marginal players in witch-trials. Men were perfectly able to be independently accused of witchcraft, despite having no relation to a female witch. Furthermore, male witches were also thought to be capable of inciting others into their diabolic ways such as in the case of John Lambe and John Palmer who had inducted Anne Bodenham and Elizabeth Knott into their wicked craft.[5] Popular pamphlets followed in the same vein as learned publications, portraying male witches as subscribing to the familiar tropes of a diabolic witch. They owned familiars, made pacts with the devil and committed acts of *malefic* magic that caused harm and death to their neighbours. We also see the influences of learned belief in popular pamphlets that were perhaps not represented in lay beliefs such as the demonization of 'good' witches or cunning folk as in the case of John Walsh, whose relatively benign confession of consulting with fairies was moulded by his interrogators into a tale of demonic compacts and diabolic familiars.[6] Yet, it also becomes evident that male and female witches were perceived to be different in some respects. Whilst the boundaries between the capabilities of men and women to engage in diabolic acts of witchcraft were almost non-existent, a firm line was drawn regarding the intimate nature of the witches' relationship with the devil. Descriptions of carnal relationships between the devil and his servant were common in confessions of female witches. However, there is no equivalent to be found in the narratives provided by men. This absence is complete: even where the familiar spirit was humanoid, and female, the sexual and even intimate element of

[5] Anon, *A Briefe Description,* (London, 1625); Anon, *The Divels Delusions,* (London, 1649)
[6] Anon, *The Examination of John Walsh,* (London, 1566)

the relationship was missing. Male witches were diabolic, that is certain, but they were not generally thought to be sexually deviant like their female counterparts.

As well as examining the elite and popular beliefs represented in the published literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this study has also attempted to survey the presence and treatment of men accused of witchcraft in the legal records of the period. Using a sample of 338 indictments relating to 233 men from across England between 1560 and 1690 it becomes apparent that the traditional view that men were sucked into the dragnet chiefly as a result of their association with female witches is fundamentally inaccurate. Judicial records underline the point that men were overwhelmingly considered able to perform *malefic* magic and witchcraft. More than half of the indictments surveyed contained accusations of bewitching people to death, causing harm to people through witchcraft and destroying livestock. Some had long-standing reputations as workers of harmful magic such as John Samond and John Lowes, directly contradicting the idea of men being secondary players in accusations and trials. Further, a large percentage of the remaining indictments are related to accusations of other diabolic magic such as sorcery, invocation and undefined suspicions of witchcraft, thereby reinforcing the idea that men were more than capable of being diabolic, harmful witches.

The trial records primarily show that the assertion that men were usually accused due to a relationship, or association, with a female witch does not stand up to scrutiny. Of the 233 male witches examined in this study, 70% had no relation, either past or present, to a woman who had been accused of being a witch, whilst this figure rises to 73% if we looked at indictments preferred solely against men. It is a similar story when it comes to conviction rates with 63% of those found guilty being independent of association with a female witch. Additionally, the evidence suggests that, contrary to the idea that men were more likely to escape punishment when accused alongside a woman, a man was no more likely to be found

not guilty than his accomplice. Amongst the guilty verdicts returned for the men accused with women, only in three cases did the man escape punishment whilst the woman was convicted. Moreover, it was entirely possible for accusations against women to be the result of suspicion against a male witch. Benjamin Brand, for example, was indicted at the quarter sessions with his wife, however only he was forwarded to the assizes.[7] John Samond had a twelve-year reputation as a witch before his wife was accused alongside him and continued being accused by himself for another fifteen years after her acquittal.[8] In another case, George Adownes was executed for bewitching to death a man, but his wife was deemed innocent of the crime and acquitted. [9]

The question remains of course as to why, if men were conceived of, and able to be prosecuted, as witches, were women the overwhelming victims of the witch-hunts? As mentioned at the beginning of this work, across Europe, approximately seventy-five to ninety percent of those accused of witchcraft were women. There have been various attempts to explain this phenomenon, however, the reasoning is complex and has, thus far, not been fully explained. The most well-known explanations are perhaps those put forth initially by radical feminists in the 1970s and 80s which laid the blame squarely at the feet of misogyny and patriarchy. Andrea Dworkin, for example, argued that it was the Church's fear and hatred of women's sexuality that led to the 'frenzied and psychotic women-hating' of the witch hunts.[10] Whilst Mary Daly expressed that it was phallocentric obsessions of purity' intertwined with a 'sado-ritual syndrome' that was responsible combined with the fact that the spiritual and medical knowledge possessed by wise women were a challenge to the Church.[11] Likewise, Barbara Ehrenreich and Deidre English argued that the witch-hunts

[7] Ewen I, p.245, n.711; ERO Q/SR 356/18, 50, 89.
[8] Ewen I, p.117, n.1; p.126, n.55, 56; pp.158-60, n.241, 247, 250, 253.
[9] Ewen I, p.205, n.521.
[10] Andrea Dworkin, *Woman Hating,* (New York, 1974), pp.118-50.
[11] Daly, *Gyn/Ecology,* p.187.

were part of 'a ruling-class campaign of terror directed against the female peasant population' and was in order to eliminate the female rivals of male physicians, ensuring male dominance of the medical profession.[12] Fundamental to these radical assertions was the inherent misogyny evident in the infamous *Malleus Maleficarum.* However, as Alison Rowland's asserts, radical feminist theories such as these failed to engage with manuscript trial records and indiscriminate use of ahistorical notions of misogyny and patriarchy which Rowlands argues 'downplays the historical specificity of early modern society.'[13] Nevertheless, such ideas remain influential despite being generally dismissed by historians.

Yet Rowlands, correctly, states that we must accept the fact that that 'patriarchal organization of early modern society was not a 'cause' but a necessary precondition for witch-hunts that produced predominantly female victims.' However, she clarifies that patriarchy should be defined not with the pejorative meaning of radical feminists but rather as 'a historically specific way of organising end exercising political, legal, social, economic and cultural power, which generally (but not exclusively) privilege men over women.'[14] Levack agrees with Rowland's arguing further that it was this lack of access to power in society such as legal, social and economic that drove women towards using magic and sorcery as instruments of protection and revenge.[15] Additionally, underpinning this patriarchal view of society was what Stuart Clark describes as a 'dual classification' view of the world and thus the beliefs surround witchcraft and the inordinately high number of women accused was provided by a 'symmetry of inversion.'[16] Thus, women were the inversion of men, witches were an inversion of a good Christian and further, the witch was the opposite of a good wife/mother/woman.

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12 Ehrenreich and English, *Witches, Midwives and Nurses,* p.5.
13 Alison Rowlands, 'Witchcraft and Gender in Early Modern Europe' in Levack (ed.), *Oxford Handbook,* p.451.
14 Rowlands, 'Witchcraft and Gender', pp.45.
15 Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* p.135.
16 Clark, *Thinking with Demons,* p.133.

This model of the world which placed women as the opposite of men manifested itself in the view that women were naturally weaker in body, mind and morals, a belief that dates to the earliest days of Christianity, with the prime example being Eve. These assertions of the fallibility of women are a common theme in the demonological texts of the period, not just in England but across Europe and have been discussed briefly in Chapter One.[17] A fundamental part of these convictions of women's inherent weaknesses comes from the assertion that women are driven by their uncontrollable sexual natures which led them to be more easily tempted by the Devil who would have offered them an outlet for their lust and sexual desires. This is evidenced not only by the endorsement of demonological writers like Kramer or Jean Bodin who referred to the 'bestial cupidity' of women but also in the belief that witches often made a pact with the devil and then engaged in promiscuous behaviour either at the sabbath, in Continental beliefs, or with the devil himself, in English beliefs.[18] We certainly see this reflected in the discussion of sexual deviancy in Chapter Two in which it was shown that English pamphlet writers, and by extension Judges who conducted examinations, were intimately concerned with the diabolic sexual activities of accused female witches but instead ignored almost entirely any hint of the same in male witches. Further, Chapter One's discussion of the visual culture of witches and witchcraft during the early modern period also reflects this preoccupation with female witches' sexuality as represented in the works of Dürer, Baldung and Gheyn.

At the local level however, Levack suggests that it was the role of women in early modern society that put them at risk of accusations of witchcraft. The proximity of women to food, medicine and childcare would have given the diabolic witch more opportunity to practice her harmful magic should she chose to do so. As a cook, for example, one could collect and use herbs for beneficial or nefarious purposes. Furthermore, this representation

[17] Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* p.132.
[18] Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* p.132.

of the witch and the cook is frequently portrayed in visual images as standing over a cauldron for example.[19] Conjointly, we see numerous accusations of witches interfering with food, causing butter to stop churning, souring milk, destroying beer and so on. Secondly, we see a preponderance of evidence in trial records of cunning-women appearing before the courts charged with harming or killing others, such as Margery Skelton of Little Wakering in 1566 and 1577.[20] Additionally, women who were involved in caring for other people's children were also at risk of accusation should something unfortunately happen to the child. Lyndal Roper for example demonstrated that many of the witchcraft accusations in Augsburg during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries arose out of conflicts between mothers and the lying-in maids who provided care for both them and their child in the weeks following birth.[21] Thus we see that witchcraft accusations, between women, tended to be formed from disputes the occurred within the female spheres of society, food production, childbirth, childcare and the boundaries of the household. As Purkiss suggests, in these contexts we see again the idea of the witch an inversion, 'the dark other of the early modern woman': an anti-Christian, an anti-housewife and an anti-mother.[22]

The patriarchal structure of early modern society, a belief in women's inherent inferiority to men and the subsequent weakness to demonic temptation, fear of women's unrestrained sexuality and disputes amongst women concerning primarily female spheres in society all are legitimate explanations as to why women made up the majority of those accused of witchcraft. However, they also all have their flaws. Radical feminist theory, of course, over-estimates the role of patriarchy and misogyny in the witch-hunts and reduces accusations to a simple attack on women by men, ignoring the fact that the majority of women accused of witchcraft were accused by other women. Subsequent research has helped

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[19] Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* p.133.
[20] MacFarlane, *Witchcraft,* p.279; Ewen I, pp.124-5, n.45, 47, 48.
[21] Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil,* pp.200-227.
[22] Purkiss, *The Witch in History,* p.110.

illuminate the possible reasons why women were the majority of the accused. Although historians are correct that demonological theories were overwhelmingly misogynistic and relied heavily on the assertion that women were inherently weaker, physically, intellectually and morally to men they tend to ignore the fact that these same writers also conceived of and wrote about male witches. Further, though the sexual deviancy of female witches is a defining feature that is not present in accusations against, or confessions by, male witches, I would be hesitant to place too much emphasis on this as a fundamental reason for the predominance of women in the witch-hunts. Particularly when we see that in continental accounts of witchcraft there is evidence of such diabolic sexual licentiousness present through confession like that of Johannes Juinus and of others who attended the Sabbath and participated in the orgies that were believed to have occurred. Additionally, when it came to accusations made by neighbours or others in the community it was unlikely that deviant sexual behaviour would have been part of the initial accusations against the alleged witch. Such details usually came from confessions, often provoked by torture, or further examination by witch finders like Matthew Hopkins during the Essex witch panic in the 1640s. Likewise, explanations of witchcraft that place neighbourly disputes in female dominated spheres of society such as household, food and childcare also ignore the presence of men in the trial records accused of these kinds of *malefic* acts, as discussed in Chapter's Three and Four. Therefore, although it is apparent that, as Rowlands states, the patriarchal structure of early modern society was a precondition for the witch-hunts, it does not sufficiently explain the figures we see in trial records and more research is needed to fully understand the gender disparity in witchcraft accusations.

Ultimately, this study suggests that men were accused and convicted of witchcraft because they were believed, like women, to be witches by neighbours, judges, juries, demonologists and theologians. They were able to commit the same crimes as female witches, to harm and kill others, to destroy livestock, make pacts with the devil, own

familiars, to wreak havoc on society and to have long-standing reputations as workers of *maleficium*. Association with a woman was not a prerequisite for accusations being made against men; on the contrary, most male witches had no known relationship with female witches and appear to have had the same chance of conviction or acquittal as female witches. These findings fly in the face of traditional views about early modern witchcraft beliefs in early modern England. These views have often been built upon the assumption that gender was the fundamental, determining nature, of witchcraft accusations. Whilst it is undeniable that women were disproportionately represented in witch-trials trying to fit male witches into this model causes us to limit our understanding of the complexities of early modern beliefs surrounding witches.

How then does the English male witch fit in the wider context of wider European witchcraft? This work follows in the footsteps of regional studies by Antero Heikkinen and Timo Kervinen who examined the witch-trials that took place in Finland and saw around seventy-five percent of the accused being male. In this case, it becomes clear that concepts of English male witches differed significantly from those of Finnish beliefs. Fundamentally Heikkinen and Kervinen found that accusations against male witches were usually for practicing traditional magic such as healing rather than diabolic witchcraft.[23] Further, they also saw that when diabolism became more important to witchcraft accusations during the seventeenth century, Finnish trials saw a considerable increase in the number of women accused, with the figures inflating from just twenty-five percent to fifty-percent.[24] Likewise, Labouvie's investigation into witch-beliefs and men in the Saar Region concludes that male witches tended to be associated with positive, practical techniques aimed at preventing and curing illnesses and of ensuring the maintenance, recovery or increase of property and good

[23] Heikkenen and Kervinen, 'Finland: The Male Domination', p.323.
[24] Heikkenen and Kervinen, 'Finland: The Male Domination', pp.321-33.

and were rarely accused of female sorcery which was related to childbirth, love and death.[25] Where men were accused of *malefic* acts of magic it was usually in the reverse of the positive, male dominated magical practices, such as allegations of harming animals or causing illness in adults. Further, she finds that in cases where men were accused of harmful magic, they were never initially denounced by another man, suggesting that male conceptions of sorcery and *maleficium* in the Saar region were entirely female.[26] English male witches did however share some similarities with their counterparts in the Saar region. For example, it was unusual to see men accused of acts such as ruining butter or causing infertility in both regions whilst accusations of bewitching people and conjuring storms were common. Nevertheless, in English witchcraft we do not see such strict division, men could be, and were, accused by other men of a wide range of *maleficium.* Additionally, we see that men were also accused of witchcraft that traditionally occurred in female spheres, such as William Godfrey's alleged bewitching to death of Margery and William Holton's child and the attempt to harm John and Sarah Barber's new-born child.[27]

This idea of a dual-natured belief in witchcraft is echoed in Willem de Blécourt's study of witchcraft in the rural Netherlands. Blécourt identified two witch stereotypes, similar to those in Labouvie's work. The male witch, he argues, tended to be focused on profit-making, favouring individual gain over the communal good, whilst the female witch was a worker of harmful magic.[28] However, Blécourt notes that whilst the stereotypes of male and female witches existed they were by no means exclusive. Men could be accused as a harmful witch under the female stereotype whilst women might also find themselves labelled under the male stereotype of the profit-making witch. The permeable nature of witchcraft

[25] Eva Labouvie, 'Men in Witchcraft Trials: Towards a Social Anthropology of 'Male' Understandings of Magic', in Ulinka Rublack (ed.), *Gender in Early Modern German History,* (Cambridge, 2002), pp.49-68.
[26] Lavouvie, 'Men in Witchcraft Trials', pp.62, 56.
[27] Gaskill, 'The Devil in the Shape of a Man', 153-5.
[28] Blécourt, 'Making of the Female Witch', 299.

stereotypes and accusations is also echoed by Katrim Moeller, who found that in Mecklenburg whilst some magical practices were more strongly associated with one gender, no specific magical practice, both healing or harmful, were imagined as exclusively male or female. She found for example that, like the case of William Godfrey, men could be accused of practicing harmful magic in relation to quintessentially female areas such as childbirth.[29] However, Blécourt's research reiterates the idea that those men accused in the rural parts of the Netherlands were 'swept along' in accusations against women, rather than accused as witches, under the female stereotype of the harmful witch, in their own right.[30] As this study of English male witches has shown, overwhelmingly, men in England were accused of witchcraft independently from women. Additionally, male witches in England appear not to follow the generally held supposition that men were generally accused when stereotypes broke down as witch-hunt spiralled out of control.[31] Whilst it is certain that some periods saw an increase in accusations of both male and female witches in England, for example during the panic that swept the south-east in the 1640s, we see a consistent presence of male witches being accused and tried before the English courts during the entirety of the period. Further, the types of crimes associated with male witches similarly remained consistent although during the Hopkins trials we do see some pollution of beliefs that had been strictly gendered, in particular, the association of female witches and the possession of teats or marks left by suckling familiars located on the body, usually in intimate areas. Nevertheless, the English male witch fundamentally seems to have been an integral and independent part of early modern witch-beliefs in England.

Thus, we see that whilst witchcraft beliefs surrounding male witches in England do share some similarities with continental European beliefs, they do not entirely follow the

[29] Rowlands, 'Witchcraft and Gender', pp.458-9.
[30] Blécourt, 'Making of the Female Witch', 298.
[31] Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, p.131.

same patterns of gender separation and accusation. This perhaps is part of the general structure of witch beliefs in England as a whole. The concept and nuances of witchcraft in English beliefs developed differently to those of the continent. Levack argues for example, that English beliefs failed to incorporate the great medieval heresies that were the foundation to the European witchcraft stereotypes that developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Additionally, the sparse use of torture and absence of papal inquisitors meant that when the 'cumulative concept of witchcraft' began to spread throughout Europe it did not find particularly fertile ground in England. This is reflected for example, in the tameness of English beliefs of the witches sabbath which generally did not include instances of cannibalistic infanticide, sexual orgies or night flying. Further, the infrequent and scant use of torture prevented the chain-reaction hunts that plagued Europe during the same period.[32]

It is hoped that this study, as the first systematic examination of male witches in England, will reinforce the work of a growing number of historians - such as Malcolm Gaskill, Elizabeth Kent and Charlotte Rose-Millar - who have begun to place male witches within the wider framework of early modern English witchcraft, not as individuals who were seen as guilty by association but as individuals who were guilty in their own right. In doing so, the aim is to tease out the complexities and nuances of demonological, theological, elite, popular and lay beliefs that contemporaries held about witchcraft and those who used it. Yet there is still much work to be undertaken on this subject. This research, as part of doctoral thesis, can be expanded further and it is my aim to do so, hopefully to fully develop it into a monograph of male witches and witchcraft in England. Fundamentally, although this work draws together trial records from across England, the picture is still far from complete and I would like to have been able to have undertaken a more comprehensive search of the archives, however the time constraints of the doctoral programme as well as the fragmentary

[32] Levack, *Witch-Hunt,* pp.198-99.

nature of surviving records forced the need for a smaller sample. This has led to an overabundance of trials from the south-east of England, particularly related to the witch-panic that swept the area in the 1640s, but also due to the relatively high survival rate of assize records from across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Whilst such records do provide an excellent source of knowledge for witchcraft beliefs during the early modern period one might have to be wary about applying such beliefs to encompass the whole of English beliefs on witchcraft and witches. Therefore, I hope to be able to dig further into the archives to uncover more examples of men accused of, and tried for, witchcraft and build a more representative database of male witches from across the different counties in England. Moreover, a more comprehensive record of trial records would allow for an investigation into regional differences in witch-beliefs. We are aware for example that the east Anglican trials were heavily influenced by the beliefs of Matthew Hopkins and John Sterne, and it is here that we begin to see evidence of continental beliefs infiltrating such as allusions to sabbath like meetings and a great emphasis of the sexual dimension to the demonic compact, however it would be interesting to see if northern witch-trials were influenced by their proximity to Scotland and their beliefs in a more diabolic form of witchcraft for example. Additionally, I would like to expand upon the discussion in Chapter Two of the deviant sexuality of male and female witches. Early modern English writers and thinkers were clearly considerably more preoccupied with uncovering and censoring female illicit sexuality than male. Yet we do see some evidence in the cases of Lambe, Prince Rupert of the Rhine and the Duke of Buckingham as well as the appearance of teats in intimate locations on men accused during the East Anglian trials for example that there was some possibility of male witches also engaging in some form of unacceptable sexual behaviour. It would be intriguing to examine just how far these ideas penetrated English witch-beliefs and how they may relate to continental conceptions of diabolic sexuality that we see evidenced in the cases of Johannes Junius and confessions of sexual orgies during the Sabbath. Such understanding

can only benefit the study of early modern witchcraft and further expand our understanding of witchcraft in sixteenth and seventeenth century England.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF DEMONOLOGICAL AND THEOLOGICAL TEXTS EXAMINED IN CHAPTER ONE IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

PLACE/YEAR	AUTHOR	TITLE
1587, London	George Gifford	*A discourse of the subtill practises of deuilles by vvitches and sorcerers By which men are and haue bin greatly deluded: the antiquitie of them: their diuers sorts and names.*
1590, London	Henry Holland	*A treatise against vvitchcraft: or A dialogue wherein the greatest doubts concerning that sinne, are briefly answered a Sathanicall operation in the witchcraft of all times is truly prooued.*
1593, London	George Gifford	*A dialogue concerning witches and witchcraftes In which is laide open how craftely the Diuell deceiueth not onely the witches but many other and so leadeth them awrie into many great errours.*
1597, Edinburgh	James I, King of England	*Daemonologie in forme of a dialogue, diuided into three bookes.*
1610, London	William Perkins	*A discourse of the damned art of witchcraft so farre forth as it is reuealed in the Scriptures, and manifest by true experience.*
1616, London	Alexander Roberts	*A treatise of Witchcraft VVherin sundry propositions are laid downe, plainely discouering the wickednesse of that damnable art, with diuerse other speciall points annexed, not impertinent to the same, such as ought diligently of euery Chrisitan to be considered.*
1617, London	Thomas Cooper	*The mystery of witch-craft Discouering, the truth, nature, occasions, growth and power thereof. Together with the detection and punishment of the same.*
1622, London	Thomas Cooper	*Sathan Transformed into an Angell of Light, expressing his dangerous Impostures vnder glorious shewes. Emplified Specially in the Doctrine of Witch-craft, and such sleights of Satan, as are incident thereunto.*
1625, London	John Cotta	*The infallible true and assured witch, or, The second edition of the tryall of witch-craft shewing the right and true methode of the discoverie: with a confutation of erroneous waies, carefully reviewed and more fully cleared and augmented.*
1648, London	John Sterne	*A confirmation and discovery of witchcraft containing these severall particular: that there are witches ... together with the confessions of many of those executed since May 1645.*
1655, London	Thomas Ady	*A candle in the dark: or, A treatise concerning the nature of witches & witchcraft: being advice to judges, sheriffes, justices of the peace*

		and grand-jury-men, what to do, before they passe sentence on such as are arraigned for their lives, as witches.
1655, London	John Gaule	*Select cases of conscience touching vvitches and vvitchcrafts. By Iohn Gaule, preacher of the Word at Great Staughton in the county of Huntington.*
1681, London	Joseph Glanvill	*Saducismus Triumphatus, or, Full and plain evidence concerning witches and apparitions in two part: the first treating of their possibility, the second of their real existence*

APPENDIX II

LIST OF WITCHCRAFT TRIAL PAMPHLETS EXAMINED IN CHAPTER TWO IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

1. Pamphlets relating to Male Witches:

YEAR	AUTHOR	TITLE
1566	Anon	*The examination of John Walsh before Maister Thomas Williams, commissary to the Reuerend father in God William Bishop of Excester, vpon certayne interrogatories touchyng wytchcrafte and sorcerye, in the presence of diuers ge[n]tlemen and others. The .xxiii. of August. 1566.*
1582	W.W.	*A True and Just Recorde, of the Information, Examination and Confession of all the Witches, taken at S. Oses in the countie of Essex.*
1612	Anon	*The witches of Northampton-shire Agnes Browne. Ione Vaughan. Arthur Bill. Helen Ienkenson. Mary Barber. Witches. Who were all executed at Northampton the 22. Of Iuly last. 1612.*
1613	Thomas Potts	*The vvonderfull discouerie of witches in the countie of Lancaster VVith the arraignement and triall of nineteene notorious witches, at the assizes and general gaole deliuerie, holden at the castle of Lancaster, vpon Munday, the seuenteenth of August last, 1612.*
1628	Anon	*A Briefe Description of the Notorious like of John Lambe otherwise called Doctor Lambe. Together with his ignomious death.*
1645	Anon	*A True Relation of the Arraignment of Eighteene Witches that were tried, convicted and condemned, at a sessions holden at St. Edmunds-bury in Suffolke.*
1646	John Davenport	*The witches of Huntingdon, their examinations and confessions.*
1649	Anon	*The divels delusions or A faithfull relation of John Palmer and Elizabeth Knott two notorious vvitches lately condemned at the sessions of Oyer and Terminer in St Albans. Together with the confession of the aforesaid John Palmer and Elizabeth Knott, executed July 16. Also their accusations of severall vvitches in Hitchen, Norton and other places in the county of Hartford.*

2. Other Pamphlets Consulted:

YEAR	AUTHOR	TITLE
1566	John Phillips	*The Examination and Confession of certain Wytches and Chensforde in the Countie of Essex.*
1579	Anon	*A rehearsall both straung and true, of hainous and horrible actes committed by Elizabeth Stile.*
1579	Richard Galis	*A brief treatise containing the most strange and horrible cruelty of Elizabeth Stile alias Rockingham and her confederates, executed at Abingdon, upon R. Galis.*
1589	Anon	*The Apprehension and confession of three notorious Witches.*
1592	G.B.	*A Most Wicked worke of a wretched Witch.*
1593	Thomas Mann, John Winnington	*The most strange and admirable discoverie of the three Witches of Warboys.*
1619	Anon	*The wonderful discouerie of the vvitchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower, daughters of Ioan Flower neere Beuer Castle: executed at Lincolne, March 11. 1618.*
1642	Anon	*A magazine of scandall. Or, a heape of wickednesse of two infamous ministers, consorts, one named Thomas Fowkes of Earle Soham in Suffolk, convicted by law for killing a man, and the other named Iohn Lowes of Brandeston, who hath beene arraigned for witchcraft, and convicted by law for a common barrettor.*
1645	H.F.	*A true and exact relation of the severall informations, examinations, and confessions of the late witches, arraigned and executed in the county of Essex.*
1653	Edmond Bower	*Doctor Lambe Revived, or, witchcraft condemn'd in Anne Bodenham.*
1696	Moses Pitt	*An Account of one Anne Jeffries, now living in the county of Cornwall, who was fed for six months by a small sort of airy people call'd fairies, and of the strange and wonderful cures she performed with slaves and medicines she received from them*

APPENDIX III

TABLE OF MALE WITCHES

Surname	Name	Place of Residence	County	Source(s)
Adonwis	George	Flamsted	Essex	Ewen I, n.521
Alston	John	Stysted	Essex	ERO Q/SR 324/118-119
Arwaker	John	Great Waltham	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.285
Ashworth	Robert	Helmesley	Yorkshire	National Archives PL 25/57, 26/22
Awdcrofte	Henry	Chester	Cheshire	National Archives CHES 21/2 p.67
Aylett	Thomas	Stysted	Essex	ERO, Q/SR 324/118-119
Aylett	Robert	Stysted	Essex	ERO, Q/SR 324/118-119
Bacon	Nathaniel	Chattisham	Suffolk	Add. MS. 27402 f.120, Ewen I, p.308
Baggillie	Henry	Chadderton	Lancashire	Lancashire Archives, QSB 1/139
Baker	William	Westbury	Wiltshire	Gloucester Archives, G/DR/6
Ball	Richard	Stock	Essex	ERO, Q/SR 63/16; Ewen I, 07; J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.922
Banbury	Edward	Somerset	Somerset	SRO, Q/SR/86/175-6
Banckes	Richard	Earls Colne	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.296
Bankes	John	Newport Pond	Essex	Ewen I, n.459
Barbor	Henry	Barkinge	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.282
Barker	Thomas	Hockley	Essex	ERO, Q/SR 65/2, 3; J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.972
Barneby	Thomas	Maldon	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.298

Battersby	Nicholas	York	Yorkshire	York Despositions, p.101 ASSI 44/12
Baxter	John	Staffordshire	Staffordshire	National Archives, ASSI 2/1
Bennet	William	Finchingfield	Essex	Ewen I, n.267, 268; J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.1817
Bennet	John	Oxfordshire	Oxfordshire	CUL, EDR E12 f.12-12v
Benton	George	Wakefield	Yorkshire	York Depositions 74-75
Bill	Arthur	Raunds	Northamptonshire	The witches of Northamptonshire, C1v-C3v
Blackborne	Thomas	Cranebrook	Kent	National Archives, CHES 21/1 p.171
Blomfield	Miles	Hertford	Hertford	ERO, Q/SR 67/2, 44-6
Bones	William	Finchingfield	Essex	Ewen I, n.736
Bones	Abraham	Finchingfield	Essex	Ewen I, n. 736
Bonmer	Matthew	Newcastle	Northumberland	J.C. Cox, *Parish Registers of England,* (1910), pp 228-9
Bordman	Henry	Langfield	Yorkshire	Ewen II, pp.408-9
Brand	Benajmyn	Stebbing	Essex	ERO, Q/SR 356/18, 50, 89
Browne	William	Buntingford	Hertford	Ewen I, n.420; J.S. Cockburn Hertford Eliz I, n.901
Browning	Robert	Aldham	Essex	Ewen I, 417
Bulcock	John	Moss End	Lancashire	Potts, *Wonderful Discovery* Q2v-Q4
Bull	Edward	Taunton	Somersert	Brit. Lib., Add. M.S. 36,674, f.189
Burbush	Peter	Ely St. Mary	Cambridgeshire	CUL, EDR E12 f.12-12v
Burnham	John	Sutton	Cambridgeshire	CUL, EDR E12 f. 22-3
Burre	George	Brentwood	Essex	ERO, Q/SR 246/119

Butter	Richard	Staffordshire	Staffordshire	National Archives, ASSI 2/1
Bysack	John	Waldingfield	Suffolk	Stearne, Confirmation, pp. 41-2
Campe	Thomas	Nazeing	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.285
Carley		Chowbent	Lancashire	Lancashire Archives QSP/647/20
Carre	Henry	Rattlesden	Suffolk	Stearne, *Confirmation*, p.25
Casey	Robert	Pulham St Mary	Norfolk	NRO, C/S 3/box 36
Celles	Henry	Clacton	Essex	W.H. *A True and Just Record*, C8-D4
Chambers	Robert	Westham	Essex	Ewen I, n.07; J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.922
Chambers	John	Bramford	Suffolk	Brit. Lib., Add. MS 27402 f.108b, Ewen I, n.294
Chaunsey	John	Hampstead	Middlesex	Middlesex Sessions Rolls, IV, 303, 310.
Cheetham	John	Bredburie	Cheshire	National Archives, CHES 24/122/1; CHES 29/414 f.23
Cherrie	'unknown'	Thrapston	Northamptonshire	Stearne, Confirmation, pp.34-35
Chitham	Henry	Much Barfields	Essex	Acts of Privy Council IX 391; X 8, 62
Church	John	Fordham	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.291
Clarke	John Snr	Keyston	Huntingdonshire	Stearne, *Confirmation*, p. 14-15; Witches of Huntingdon 7-9
Clarke	John Jnr	Keyston	Huntingdonshire	Stearne, *Confirmation*, p. 14-15; Witches of Huntingdon 7-9

Cole	Richard	Hampstead	Middlesex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.288
Coleman	John	Bucks	Buckinghamshire	Acts of Privy Council XI, 427; XII 29-30.
Conyers	Robert	Ginsbrough	Yorkshire	Atkinson, *Quarter Sessions Records*, vol. V. p.259.
Coppynge	Robert	Woodham Ferrers	Essex	Ewen I, n.753
Cornell	John	Toppesfield	Essex	Ewen I, n.519
Coxe	John	Newhall	Essex	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1587-1590, p.173
Crake	Robert	Boxted	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.287
Creede	Thomas	Cranebrook	Kent	Ewen I, n.690, 691, 692
Cremer	John	Ingrave	Essex	Ewen I, n. 403
Culpepper	Nicholas	Shoreditch	Middlesex	Middlesex Session Rolls: 1642, 85
Curswell	William	Layer-de-la-Haye	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.287
Davies	John	Thurstington	Leicestershire	National Archives, CHES 21/3 p.127b
Dempster	Thomas	Kings Lynn	Cambridgeshire	NRO KL/C 21/2 f/47-8v
Device	James	Pendle	Lancashire	Potts, *Wonderful Discovery* G4v-I1v
Dier	John	Stysted	Essex	ERO Q/SR 324/118-119
Drake	William	Stysted	Essex	ERO Q/SR 324/118-119
Drake	John	Stysted	Essex	ERO Q/SR 324/118-119
Driver	Henry	Colchester Castle	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.287
Drury	William	Tedworth	Wiltshire	Brit Lib, Harl. MS. 829, ff.175-7
Dunne	Richard	Waltham Holy Cross	Essex	Ewen I, n.280, 281, 282; J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.2000

Elks	Thomas	London	London	Holinshed, *Chronicles* III, 1315; K.B. 27/1275
Ellis	Robert	Sutton	Cambridgeshire	CUL, EDR E12 15,18,23
Emerson	James	Ipswich	Suffolk	ESRO C/2/9/1/1/8/7
Emerson	'unknown'	Stamford Bridge	Yorkshire	Acts of Privy Council X, 382
Everard	Thomas	Halesworth	Suffolk	Add. MS 27402 f.120b, 121 Ewen I, n.309, 311-12
Fenderly	Giles	Nayland	Suffolk	Ewen II, p.455-6
Fize	Henry	Westpenner	Somerset	Acts of Privy Council, XII, 34.
Fletcher	Sarah	Stysted	Essex	ERO Q/SR 324/118-119
Foster	Thomas	Westham	Essex	ERO Q/SR 63/16; Ewen I, n.07; J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.922
Foxe	John	Hockley	Essex	J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.972
Garnett	Robert	Colchester Castle	Essex	Ewen I, n.594
Gilden	John	Chester	Cheshire	National Archives, CHES 24/107/4; Ewen II, p.414
Godfrie	John	Lambourne	Essex	Ewen I, n.532
Gosse	John	Hatfield Peverel	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.288
Gower	Henry	Quendon	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.294
Green	Christopher	Somerset	Somerset	Glanvill 162-4
Greenhalgh	Richard	Edgeworth	Lancashire	National Archives PL 26/19, 21, Ewen II, p.412
Guppie	John	Hampshire	Hampshire	Ewen II, p.442
Haddesley	Edwin	Willingale	Essex	Ewen I, n.488, 489; National Archives, St. Cha. 8 58/5

Hall	John	Glouchestershire	Glouchestershire	National Archives, ASSI 2/1
Hall	Christopher	Norfolk	Norfolk	NRO C/S 3/box41a
Hammond	'unknown'	Westminster	Middlesex	Ewen II, p. 453
Hammond	Thomas	Aspenden	Hertford	Ewen I, n.522, 523
Hardinge	Thomas	Wytham	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.290
Harrison	Kitchell	York	Yorkshire	National Archives, ASSI 44/28
Harvery	Thomas	Oakham	Rutland	Calendar of State Papers Dom, 1658-1659, 169.
Haven	George	Coggeshall	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.289, 290
Haye	John	Handley	Cheshire	National Archives, CHES 21/4 p.333
Heather	Thomas	Battersy	Hertford	Ewen I, n. 66, 88; J.S. Cockburn Hereford Eliz I, n.9
Hempstead	Nicholas	Creeting	Suffolk	Stearne, *Confirmation*, p.18.
Hickson	John	Chester	Cheshire	National Archives, CHES 24/107/4; Ewen II, p.414
Hinchcliff	Joseph	Denbigh	Lancashire	National Archives, ASSI 44/17;
Hoare	John	Hatfield Peverell	Essex	Ewen I, n. 272; J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.1976
Hockenhull	John	Prenton	Cheshire	National Archives, CHES 21/3, p.174a
Holt	Thomas	Coventry	Coventry	*Fearfull News from Coventry* 1642
Hope	Thomas	Standish	Standish	Lancashire Archives QSB 1/202
Hunt	William	Hampstead	Hampstead	Middlesex Session Rolls 1603-25, ii. 217

Hunt	Edmund	Maldon	Maldon	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.296
Hunt	William	Westham	Westham	Middlesex County Records, ii. 96, 218
Hutton	John	Helmesley	Helmesley	Mary Moore, *Wonderful Newse from the North*, (1650)
Hytchmer	Thomas	Glouchestershire	Glouchestershire	National Archives, ASSI 2/1
Ingrave	Stephen	Abberton	Essex	Ewen I, n.391, 392, 393, J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.2523; Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.288
Jefferson	Thomas	Woodhouse	Yorkshire	National Archives, ASSI 44/7, Ewen II p. 398-399
Johnson	Nicholas	Woodham Mortimer	Essex	Acts of Privy Council, XII, pp.251-2
Johnson	John	Pointon	Cheshire	Ewen II, p.416
Jonn	Richard	North Ockenden	Essex	Ewen I, n.510, 511
King	Thomas	Barkwaye	Hertford	Ewen I, n.314; J.S. Cockburn Hertford Eliz I, n.471
Knipp	John	Southton	Somerset	Inderwick, *Side-Lights on Stuarts*. 192
Kylden	Stephen	Southwark	London	Brit. Lib., Harl. M.S. 160 f.188
Kynge	Thomas	Barkwaye	Hertford	Ewen I, n.210, 211, 315; J.S. Cockburn Hertford Eliz I, n.471
Lambe	John	London	London	Anon, *A Briefe Description.*
Lavender	Francis	Navestock	Essex	Ewen I, n.659, 660, 661
Leech	John	Staffordshire	Staffordshire	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1581-1690, p.206
Leech	Nicholas	Manningtree	Essex	Ewen I, n.649

Leonard	William	Hornchurch	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.281
Lewis	Alexander	St. Albans	Hertford	J.S. Cockburn Hertford Jas I, p.64
Litchfield	William	Yardley	Hertford	Ewen I, n.672
Lock	John	Colchester	Essex	Brit. Lib., Stowe MSS 840 f.32
Lock	John	Great Bentley	Essex	ERO Q/SR 104, 355/119
Lowes	John	Brandeston	Suffolk	Brit. Lib., ADD. MS. 27402 f. 114b, Ewen I, 300-301; *Witches of St Osyth*; Ewen, *The Trials of John Lowes*, Clerk (1937)
Luffkin	Thomas	London	London	Holinshed *Chronicles* III, 1315; K.B. 27/1275
Lumley	Martin	Stysted	Essex	ERO Q/SR 324/118-119
Makey	William	Stysted	Essex	ERO Q/SR 324/118-119
Mansell	Edmund	Feering	Essex	Ewen I, n.224, 225; J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.1479
Marhsall	William	Glouchestershire	Glouchestershire	National Archives, ASSI 2/1
Marshall	Richard	Croydon	Surrey	Ewen I, n.38, 39, 40, 41; J.S. Cockburn Surrey Eliz I, n.457
Mason	Edward	Finchingfield	Essex	Ewen I, n.267; J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.1871; Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.288
Mawr	William	East Hanningfield	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.285
Meere	John	Dorset	Dorsetshire	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1581-1590, pp.246-7

Meggs	'Baker'	Bury St Edmunds	Suffolk	Matthew Hopkins, *Discovery of Witches*, p.7
Milner	Ralph	Rashe	Yorkshire	York Despositions. 58
More	James	Halesworth	Suffolk	Brit. Lib., Add. MS. 27402 f. 121; Ewen I, pp.310-312
Mosse	Thomas	Warburton	Cheshire	National Archives, CHES 24/125/1, 29/46, m.37
Nelson	Richard	St Katherines	Middlesex	Middlesex Session Rolls: 1600, 260
Newport	William	St Owens	Gloucestershire	Gloucester Archives G/DR/6
Palmer	John	St Albans	Hertford	Anon, *The Divel's Delusions*,
Parker	John	Sheffield	Yorkshire	National Archives, ASSI 44/26
Parker	Robert	Toppesfield	Essex	ERO Q/Sba 1/16; Ewen I, n.518, 519
Payne	William	Bungay	Suffolk	ERO B105/2/1 f.801.
Peacock		London	London	Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1619-1623, p.125.
Pearce	Issac	Launceston	Cornwall	National Archives, ASSI 23/1; Ewen II, p. 442
Pechie	Henry	East Hanningfield	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.285
Pembroke	Simon	Southwark	London	Holinshed *Chronicles*, III, 1271
Phillips	John	Bisley	Gloucestershire	Gloucester Archives G/DR/87
Plummer	John	Great Totham	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.286
Pope	Ricard	Battersy	Hertford	Ewen I, n.88
Prestmary	Richard	Great Dunmow	Essex	Ewen I, n.125; J.S. Cockburn, Essex Eliz I, n.1084

Prince	Mark	Great Yarmouth	Norfolk	NRO, Y/S 1/2, 93, 196; Henry Manship, History of Great Yarmouth, P.274
Pye	Thomas	Ely	Cambridgeshire	CUL, EDR E12 1647/21
Rande	William	Great Totham	Essex	ERO, T/A 418/7/18, Ewen I, n.6; J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.186
Randoll	William	London	London	Holinshed, *Chronicles* III, 1315; K.B. 27/1275
Reynolds	William	Isle of Grain	Kent	Ewen I, n.688, 689.
Rich	Abraham	Stysted	Essex	ERO, Q/SR 324/118-119
Richardson	James	Stysted	Essex	ERO, Q/SR 324/118-119
Robinson	John	Rowray	Cumbria	National Archives, ASSI 44/18
Rowe	William	Chester	Cheshire	National Archives, CHES 21/3 p.200, 208b
Rowlande	Edmund	Stifford	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.295
Roydon	Edward	Hailsham	Sussex	Ewen I, n.274, 277; J.S. Cockburn Sussex Eliz I, n.1135
Sabie	Adam	Haddenham	Cambridgeshire	CUL, EDR E12 1647/17
Samond	John	Danbury	Essex	ERO, Q/SR 101/50; J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, nn.423, 95, 109, 1704.1792; Ewen I, n.1, 55, 56 241, 247, 250, 253
Samuel	John	Warboys	Huntingdonshire	*Witches of Warboys*
Scarfe	John	Rattlesden	Suffolk	Stearne, *Confirmation*, p.33
Scates	John	Billericay	Essex	ERO, Q/SR 213/85

Score	John	Launceston	Cornwall	National Archives, ASSI 23/1; Ewen II, p. 442
Seargeant	Antony	Fladburie	Wotchestershire	National Archives, ASSI 5/2
Sely	John	Stansted	Hertford	Ewen I, n.349; J.S. Cockburn Hertford Eliz I, n.599
Skelton	William	Little Wakering	Essex	Ewen I, n.45, 47, 48; J.S. Cockburn Essex I Eliz I, n.620,
Smethehurste	Robert	Langfield	Yorkshire	Ewen II, pp.408-9
Smith	Lambert	Stysted	Essex	ERO, Q/SR 324/118-119
Smithe	Thomas	Layer-de-la-Haye	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, pp.288, 295
Smyth	George	Worcestershire	Worcestershire	National Archives, ASSI 2/1
Smythe	Michael	Ramsey	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.287
Smythe	Gilbert	Swythland	Leicestershire	H.P. Stocks. *Records of Borough of Leicester*, p. 193
Spacie	Rafe	London	London	Holinshed *Chronicles* III, 1315; K.B. 27/1275
Spayne	William	Hatfield Peverel	Essex	J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.232
Starr	William	Wiltshire	Wiltshire	Ewen II, p.440
Stockden	Robert	Dallington	Sussex	Ewen I, n.413, 427; J.S. Cockburn Sussex Jas I, n.73; J.S. Cockburn Sussex Eliz I, n.2057
Styles	Richard	Norfolk	Norfolk	NRO, case 20a/11
Sussums	Alexander	Melford	Sussex	Stearne, *Confirmation*, p. 36
Symonde	John	Shenfield	Essex	Ewen I, n.133, 134, 135; J.S. Cockburn Essex Eliz I, n.1110

Taylor	George	Birdbrook	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.294
Thirkle	John	London	London	Acts of Privy Council VII, 6
Trefulback	Stephen	Westminster	Middlesex	Middlesex Session Rolls: 1591 197
Trevisard	Michael	Hardness	Devon	Ewen II. 193-196; Kittredge, *Witchcraft in England,* pp.7-22
Trevisard	Peter	Hardness	Devon	Ewen II. 193-196; Kittredge, *Witchcraft in England,* pp.7-22
Twyford	Thomas	Battersy	Hereford	Ewen I, n.88
Uttley	Richard	Langfield	Yorkshire	Ewen II, pp.408-9
Waddington	Christopher	London	London	Holinshed, *Chronicles* III, 1315; K.B. 27/1275
Wade	William	Studley	Yorkshire	York Depositions 75-78
Wakering	Gilbert	Halsted	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p. 266
Walker	William	Yealand	Lancashire	National Archives, PL 25/25
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Walles	William	Berkshire	Berkshire	Rev. J.M. Guilding, *Reading,* Records vol III, p.230-3
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Walsh	John	Netherbury	Dorsetshire	Anon, *Examination of John Walsh*
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Watson	William	Sutton	Cambridgeshire	CUL, EDR E12 1647/16-16v
Welles	Thomes	Birdbrook	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.294

White	Roger	Somerset	Somerset	SRO, MSS DD/SE 49
White	Thomas	Great Braxted	Essex	ERO, Q/SR 358/87-8, 359/60
Whiteing	Thomas	Hoo	Kent	Ewen I, n.799
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Wigborough	Peter	Maldon	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.298
Williamson	William	Battersy	Hertford	Ewen I, n.88
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Wilson	Thomas	Isle of Grain	Kent	Ewen I, n.687, 688
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Winnick	John	Coggeshall	Essex	Stearne, *Confirmation* p.20; Davenport, *Witches of Huntingdon*
Wood	John	Bradfield	Essex	Ewen I, n.761, 763
Woodhouse	William	Sheffield	York	National Archives, ASSI 44/26
Wright	Robert	Fordham	Essex	Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, p.291
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